

The *Chronicle* of Smbat Sparapet

**Translated from Classical Armenian
by Robert Bedrosian**

To the memory of my father Askanaz (Alvin) Der Bedrosian

Sources of the Armenian Tradition (Long Branch, New Jersey, 2005)

Available for reading online and/or downloading in various formats from Internet Archive:

[The Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet](#)

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[950-960](#)

The reign of Gagik Bagratuni begins.

[961-970](#)

In 961 Gagik is anointed king in the city of Ani, with the king and patriarch of the Aghuans present. The reign of Byzantine emperor [Nicephorus](#) [II, Phocas, 963-969] begins. In 964 Armenian forces expel Tachiks in the district of Taro'n, to the south and south-west of Lake Van.

Emperor Nicephorus plans an anti-Armenian campaign, but changes his mind. Empress [Theophano](#) has Nicephorus murdered and installs her lover, John I Tzimiskes [969-976], on the throne.

[971-980](#)

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Gagik Bagratuni is crowned king (Gagik [II, 1042-1045, d.1079]) and pacifies the rebel areas of the country, along with the son of Vahram Pahlawuni, Vasak.

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Death of Emperor Constantine Ducas in [1067](#), and the activities of empress and regent Eudocia Macrembolitissa in 1067-1068. Diogenes [Romanus IV Diogenes, 1068-1071] becomes emperor of Byzantium. *Kat'oghikos* Grigor II *Vkayase'r* (Martyrophile) wants to leave the *kat'oghikosate* and become a solitary, and is betrayed by his friend, Ge'org. Byzantine activities at Manbij.

How Sultan Alp-Arslan captured Manzikert in [1070](#), and battled unsuccessfully against Edessa.

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The Armenian prince [T'oros](#) is in control of Edessa and defends it. The crusades begin, with the arrival of Europeans and their troops (1096).

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[Fighting](#) in Cilicia, Syria, around Nisibis, Tell Bashir, Kesoun (1114-1120).

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[Emir Zengi](#) makes peace with Joscelin of Edessa.

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[1141-1150](#)

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Translator's Preface

[i] The late 13th-century *Chronicle* translated below is a major source for the history of the Cilician Armenian kingdom. Roughly three fourths of the work consists of a summary of another medieval Armenian history by Matthew of Edessa, which describes the period from 951 to 1129 and its continuation by Gregory the Priest, covering 1136-1162. Since Matthew's work has survived, by far the most important part of the *Chronicle* is its original portion, devoted to the period from 1163 to 1272. For unknown reasons, our text terminates abruptly in mid-sentence while describing the events of 1272.

The two 19th-century publications of the Classical Armenian text of the *Chronicle*—those of Oskan Yovhanneseants' (Moscow, 1856) and G. Shahnazarean (Paris, 1859)—are based on two fairly late manuscripts (called the Ejmiatsin texts) now at the Matenadaran in Erevan, Armenia. In the late 1870s another much longer manuscript of the *Chronicle* was discovered, which dates from the late 13th century. This text (manuscript #1308), housed at the Library of San Lazzaro in Venice, was published by father Serope' Age'lean [*Smbatay sparapeti taregirk' [The Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet]* (Venice, 1956)], and is the text translated here. The Venice manuscript had been used earlier by the philologist L. Alishan in his works *Sisuan* (Venice, 1885) and *Hayapatum* (Venice, 1901). In those works Alishan referred to this manuscript as the "Cilician Chronicle" and/or the "Royal Chronicle."

The most accessible studies of the *Chronicle* are those of Sirarpie Der Nersessian [["The Armenian Chronicle of the Constable Smpad,"](#) *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* #13 (1959) pp. 143-168] and the introduction to Gérard Dédéyan's partial French translation [*La chronique attribuée au Connétable Smbat* (Paris, 1980) pp. 9-35]. Der Nersessian suggested that the shorter versions of the text were merely extracts of the longer Venice manuscript with some later additions. Dédéyan disputes this, pointing to detailed information absent from the Venice text which appears in the shorter editions. He also notes that the language used in the Venice manuscript is closer to conventional Classical Armenian whereas the shorter editions are in a form of Middle Armenian which he considers more authentically 13th century. He suggests that the Venice text and the shorter Moscow and Paris texts all made use of a fuller version of the *Chronicle* which has not survived.

[ii] Unfortunately, some folios are missing from the beginning and end of the Venice text. Consequently, the name of the work and its author—which normally would appear at the beginning in a title and/or at the end in a colophon—are not recorded. Also missing are pages describing events occurring in the years 1023-1029, 1063-1064, 1070, and 1230-1251. Nonetheless, all publications of the Armenian text as well as all French translations prior to Dédéyan's have Smbat Sparapet (or Connétable) as the author. Smbat (1208-1276) was commander-in-chief (Arm. *sparapet*) of the Cilician Armenian army and the brother of King Het'um I (1226-1269, d. 1270). As a statesman and general, he was a major participant in Cilician civil, military, and diplomatic affairs of the second half of the 13th century. An educated and literate individual, Smbat translated the *Assises of Antioch* from French into Armenian, and probably had some familiarity with Greek, Arabic, Turkish and/or Persian. He visited the Mongol court in Qaraqorum (1248) and recorded some of his observations in a short letter in French to his brother-in-law Henry I of Cyprus. [See the [Letter of Smbat Constable to King Henry I of Cyprus](#)]. Such an individual certainly was uniquely well-informed to write a chronicle of his times. However, most regrettably, the description of Smbat's trip to the Far East—which might have confirmed him as the author—is contained in one of the sections of the *Chronicle* which did not survive. It is curious that each time Smbat is mentioned in the Venice text he is referred to in the third person, though in the later Ejmiatsin texts an editor appears to have expanded these references by inserting descriptive phrases around his name, such as "I, Smbat, author of this work." The 19th-century L. Alishan,

perhaps for these reasons, considered the *Chronicle* to be the work of an anonymous author, a view shared by Dédéyan.

In his utilization of Matthew of Edessa the author, whom we shall call Smbat, has eliminated most of Matthew's Scriptural references, as well as the lengthy speeches Matthew placed in the mouths of protagonists, and the focus on his native Edessa. Smbat also has included some information not found in Matthew, for example about the crusading Peter the Hermit; and at one point he refers readers to other sources—unnamed "Frankish historians"—for more detail. Smbat also rearranged and made some corrections to the information provided by Matthew's continuator, Gregory the Priest. [An English translation of Matthew and Gregory the Priest is available at Internet Archive, [The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa](#). For the original portion of his *Chronicle*, however, Smbat was relying on information obtained from within the royal family, the Armenian patriarchate, the state archives, and especially from personal involvement.

[iii] Partial French translations of the shorter Ejmiatsin texts were made by V. Langlois [*Chronique de Sempad, Extraits* (St. Petersburg, 1862), and by E. Dulaurier (1869) [in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Documents arméniens*, I. pp. 610-672]. A partial French translation of the longer Venice text of Age"lean was made by Gérard Dédéyan (Paris, 1980). Dédéyan's edition, an annotated translation of pp. 186-254 of Age"lean with several inserts from the Ejmiatsin texts, includes an extensive introduction which discusses the manuscript tradition and questions of authorship in detail and is accompanied by a bibliography, maps, and indices of persons and places mentioned in the text. Extracts from the Age"lean edition were translated into Russian by A.G. Galstyan [in *Armianskie istochniki o Mongolakh [Armenian Sources on the Mongols]* (Moscow, 1962)]. S. Der Nersessian, in her *Dumbarton Oaks* article, translated into English about fifteen pages of extracts from the Age"lean edition of interest to Western historians.

Age"lean's publication of the Venice manuscript is not a critical edition, but it is the best text currently available. To create a continuous text, Age"lean incorporated into his edition (in smaller type) those portions missing from the Venice text which appear in the Paris edition of 1859. We have *not* used smaller type for these inclusions in the present full English translation. The inserted portions are pp. 1-11, 27, 59, and 226-228 from the Paris edition, and pp. 71-74 from Matthew's *Chronicle*.

For the complicated history of Cilicia in this period, see S. Der Nersessian, "[The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia](#)," in *History of the Crusades*, K. M. Setton, ed. vol. II (Philadelphia, 1969) pp. 630-59 and Ani Atamian Bournoutian, "[Cilician Armenia](#)," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, R. G. Hovannisian, ed. vol. 1 (New York, 1997), Chapter 11, pp. 273-291. Additional bibliography is available in C. Toumanoff's article, "[Armenia and Georgia](#)," [Chapter XIV in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV, The Byzantine Empire, part I, (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 593-637]; for genealogy of the Houses of this period, see his [Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de la Caucasic chrétien \(Arménie - Géorgie - Albanie\)](#). For a discussion of eastern Armenia in this period see R. Bedrosian, [The Turco-Mongol Invasions and the Lords of Armenia in the 13-14th Centuries](#) (New York, 1979). The maps and accompanying text in R. H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (Chicago, 2001) pp. 136-141 also are valuable. Three other Cilician Armenian sources of relevance to this period are available on other pages of this website:

King Het'um II's [Chronicle](#),
Grigor Aknerts'i's [History of the Nation of Archers](#),
and Het'um the Historian's [The Flower of Histories of the East](#).

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A Note on Pagination

The printed editions of these online texts show the page number at the top of the page. In the right margin the pagination of the Classical Armenian (*grabar*) text also is provided. We have made the following alterations for the online texts: the page number of the printed English editions (*Sources of the Armenian Tradition* series) appears in square brackets, in the text. For example [101] this text would be located on page 101, and [102] this text would be on page 102. The *grabar* pagination is as follows. This sentence corresponds to the information found on page 91 of the Classical Armenian text [g91] and what follows is on page 92. In other words, the Classical Armenian text delimiters [gnn] indicate **bottom** of page.

Transliteration

The transliteration used here is a modification of the Library of Congress system for online Armenian, substituting **x** for the LOC's **kh**, for the thirteenth character of the Armenian alphabet (խ). Otherwise we follow the LOC transliteration, which eliminates diacritical marks above or below a character, and substitutes single or double quotation marks to the character's right. In the LOC romanization, the seventh character of the alphabet (է) appears as **e'**, the eighth (ը) as **e''**, the twenty-eighth (ռ) as **r'**, and the thirty-eighth (օ), as **o'**.

Some Additional Resources

Internet Archive:

Texts and studies of [Smbat Sparapet](#)

[Turco-Mongolica](#)
[Armenian History and Some Turco-Mongolica at Internet Archive](#)
[Studies by Speros Vryonis, Jr.](#)

[Cilician Armenia](#)
[Crusades](#)

[The Late 12th Century](#), from the *Chronicle* of Michael Rabo [Michael the Syrian].

[The Trade and Cities of Armenia After the Fall of the Bagratid Kingdom](#), by Hagop Manandian.

Wikipedia:

[12th Century](#)
[13th Century](#)
[14th Century](#)

Encyclopaedia Iranica:

[Central Asia](#), multiple topics and authors.

[Saljuqs of Rum](#), by Andrew Peacock.

[Danishmend](#), by Tahsin Yazici.

[Khwarazmshahs](#), by C. Edmund Bosworth.

[Jalal al-Din Mengubirdi](#), by C. Edmund Bosworth.

[Mongols](#), by Peter Jackson.

[The Ilkhans](#), multiple authors.

[Alamūt](#), by B. Hourcade.

[Golden Horde](#), by Peter Jackson.

Maps, at Internet Archive

Maps/Texts, by Robert H. Hewsen, at Internet Archive:

in English:

[Armenia under the Saljuqs/Seljuks](#) (11th-12th centuries),

[Armenia under the Georgians](#) (1199-1236), and

[Armenia under the Mongol Ilkhans](#) (1256-1335).

[11th-14th Centuries, Cilician Armenia](#).

as a [Barony \(1080-1198/1199\)](#)

and a [Kingdom \(1197-1375\)](#).

in Armenian:

The Cilician Armenian State (1080-1375) (B. H. Harut'yunyan, cartographer)

[The Cilician Armenian State](#), western portion and map legends.

[The Cilician Armenian State](#), eastern portion and map legends.

from *Haykakan sovetakan hanragitaran [Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia]*, volume 5
(Erevan, 1979), between p. 424 and p. 425.

in Russian:

Armenia and Neighboring Countries at the Beginning of the 13th Century (S. T. Eremyan, cartographer)

[Western Lands and Cilicia](#)

[Eastern Lands](#) and map legend

[Additional maps](#) (various periods and languages).

Chronological Tables

The following modern chronological tables are attached to the pdf version of the translation:

Rulers of Armenia and of Eastern and Western Empires

Kat'oghikoi and Corresponding Secular Rulers of the Armenians

Rulers of Mongol Empires

Chronological Tables, prepared by Robert Bedrosian, at Internet Archive:
[Armenia and Neighbors](#).

Smbat Sparapet's

Chronicle

[1] Gagik Bagratuni ruled as king over the land of the Armenians during the reign in Byzantium (Greece) of Emperor Romanus [II, c. 950-959], son of Constantine [VII, 944-959], during the reign as patriarch of the Armenians of Lord Anania, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud over the Persians, and in the year 400 of the Armenian Era [951]. [Gagik] was the son of Ashot, who was the son of Abas, who was the son of Smbat. This monarch was valiant, handsome, and awe-inspiring, merciful and mild toward all, and endowed with every virtue, like the blessed kings of the past, and he was victorious in battle against the enemies of Christ. Fortified with God's help, he brought peace to the land in every manner, to the clerics, princes, commoners, and to whomever was in his realm. The churches, which had been darkened and ruined by the Muslims [g1], shone forth and everyone gave thanks to the Lord God.

In the year 410 of the Armenian Era [961] Gagik, pressured by the blessed patriarch and all the princes, sent an envoy to the *kat'oghikos* of the Aghuanians, Lord Yovhann's, and to their king, P'ilippe', calling them to come to the anointing [ceremony] of King Gagik. They came with forty bishops and numerous princes, and together they anointed Gagik as king of the Armenians. Although [Gagik] had held the authority, up to this point he had not placed the crown of the kingdom on his head. There was joy and a great pageant that day in the city of Ani. When the days of celebration had ended, the *kat'oghikos* and the [Aghuanian] king with his grandees returned to their land with great honor.

After two years Romanus, emperor of the Byzantines, died leaving two sons, Basil and Constantine. Nicephorus [II, Phocas, 963-969] ruled after him. He cared for [Romanus'] sons honorably and solicitously. [Nicephorus] was a blessed, virtuous, and attractive man, valiant and victorious in battle, and extremely merciful. Calling a muster of troops, he came to the land of Cilicia, against the forces of the Tachiks. He took the capital city Tarsus, as well as Adana, Mamistra, and Anawarza and killed troops as far as the great city of Antioch. Then, in grand triumph, he returned to Constantinople.

[2] In 413 A.E. [964] the forces of the Armenians massed in the district of Taro'n. They attacked and crushed the forces of the Tachiks, capturing numerous princes. Thereafter that district was freed from the rule of the loathesome nation of Muhammad. During this period, Ghewond, *vardapet* [doctor of the church] of the Armenians, went to Constantinople. Discussing [theological matters] with the Byzantine *vardapets*, [Ghewond] appeared invincible in their midst. Receiving gifts from the emperor, he returned [g2] to the land of Armenia. [Ghewond] translated the history of the finger of the blessed Apostle Peter, which he brought to the Armenians.

In that period some loathesome eunuchs approached Emperor Nicephorus and slandered the Armenians [saying that] the Armenians lacked orthodox beliefs and did not celebrate the day of the birth of Christ or the feast-days of the saints [on their correct days]. Despite the fact that the emperor greatly loved Gagik, he became extremely angry since he had been deceived by the slanderous and inhuman accusations. Massing a large force, he went to the land of the Armenians [intending] generally to destroy the population. When Gagik [Ashot] heard about this, he was astounded that such a Christian monarch would come against the churches of Christ, prideful and angry. But he called up and assembled the forces of the Armenians, in preparation for

war. Meanwhile Emperor Nicephorus and his troops were moving East. When he had reached the city of Nicaea in Bithynia, the patriarch of the city asked the reason for his arrival; and the emperor told him, in order. The blessed patriarch then acquainted the emperor with the orthodox faith of the Armenian Church and its complete views on the Holy Trinity, the one Divinity and Christ's corporealization. When the emperor had become acquainted with the truth and informed about the bravery of Gagik [Ashot] and [the strength of] the Armenian troops by the blessed patriarch, he drew back from his vain anger like someone who has just awakened, and he thanked God for preventing an unjust war. Then he ordered the patriarch to write to Gagik [Ashot] about the reasons for his arrival, and to establish friendship and unity between the two monarchs. And this, in fact, was done. Then each [ruler] returned to his place.

[3] In the year 418 A.E. [969] [Theophano], the wife of Nicephorus, hatched an evil plan. She secretly sent and had removed from confinement a man named John Tzimisces [g3] (who had been condemned to death and exiled to an island), as though this were the emperor's order. She had him brought to Constantinople without the emperor's knowledge, and made a secret plan with [Tzimisces] to kill the emperor, promising to become his wife and to seat him on the imperial throne. [Tzimisces] agreed to do the will of the wicked empress. The evil woman had done this to satisfy her lascivious desires. For the emperor was a decent and modest man as regards the desires of the flesh, and did not permit her unbridled and evil lust to go unchecked. Now it happened that the emperor had a custom of isolating himself in a room of his dwelling at a peaceful hour of the evening to read the Bible. [One night] the emperor, after completing his customary prayers, stretched out on the bed and slept. Now the empress had come into the dim room while the emperor was still reading, had come and sat near him and embraced him. [While doing this] she [secretly] tightened the cords that held the emperor's sword, so that [the sword] could not be drawn out. [Theophano] then went out to her co-conspirator. Then Tzimisces, having come [into the palace] clandestinely, ran into the room where the emperor was. When the emperor saw him he was dumbfounded and said: "What do you want here, you mad dog?" [The emperor] put his hand on his sword, but was unable to remove it [from its sheath]. Then Tzimisces attacked like a wild animal and stabbed the body of the blessed emperor with his sword [and it was revealed that the emperor] was wearing a shirt made of goat's hair underneath the imperial purple [garments]. And thus did his spirit depart, [with his body] spattered in blood. They took and buried [the emperor] in the blessed [burial] place, with fitting honor and great lamentation.

The unworthy Tzimisces was seated as emperor [John I, Tzimisces 969-976], and he subdued the entire land of the Byzantines. As for the sons of Romanus, [Tzimisces] saw to it that they escaped from the impious empress, [sending them] to Vasakawan in the district of Handzit' [in Armenia], so that she could not poison them [g4]. However, due to the unjust murder of Nicephorus, Emperor Tzimisces experienced great sorrow all the days of his life.

In 420 A.E. [971] Gagik, king of the Armenians, died a peaceful death. But there was discord between his sons, Yovhann's and Ashot, since Yovhann's, though the senior son and a wise man, nonetheless was irresolute, cowardly, and inexperienced in warfare, while Ashot, on the other hand, was a valiant man, unbeatable and triumphant in battle. Yovhann's seized the throne, while Ashot circulated around with his troops, looting many places and harassing the city of Ani. [Ashot] went to Senek'erim, king of Vaspurakan, who was second [to rule] after Apusahl, son of Gagik, of the Artsruni clan. Taking troops from him, he passed on to Mount Varag, where he entered the monastery of the Holy Cross to revere the blessed cross and icon of the holy Mother of God. And he gave many gifts [to the monastery] and had a repository made for the saints from the gold of the Arabs, which the king of the Babylonians [the caliph] had given to him. Then [Ashot] arrived at the city of Ani with numerous troops. When Yovhann's learned about this he sent his own forces out to fight, while he himself remained seated on the throne, since he was incompetent in matters of warfare. With the city aroused, [Yovhann's' troops] went out to fight against Ashot.

[4] Meanwhile a certain prince came to Yovhanne's as an envoy from the king of the Georgians, and was present there on that particular day. He promised the king: "Your majesty, order them to point out Ashot to me, and I will forcibly bring him before you." The [prince] said this because of his personal bravery and because he was a military man. The king replied: "Do not despise the lion's cub before you have seen it." Now when the troops had begun fighting, the Georgian prince shouted out, demanding Ashot [for combat]. When Ashot heard this, he was infuriated, and the two faced off against each other. Ashot struck [g5] the man's helmet with his sword, splitting him in two, and [his body] fell to the ground. An extremely fierce battle ensued in which the troops of the king were put to flight. Ashot pursued, harrying them and not letting them get into the city. Instead, he herded them all into the river.

Then the Pahlawunik' and Bagratunik' [families] decided to make peace between the two brothers. The blessed patriarch, Anania, and the princes of the city went before Ashot and effected a peace, by which Yovhanne's would sit as king in Ani, and Ashot would be king [in the areas] outside the city. [Furthermore they arranged that] should Yovhanne's die first, Ashot would be king over all the Armenians. When Ashot agreed [to this], Abas was seated in Kars with royal authority, by order of Yovhanne's and Ashot, and Ge'org [ruled] over the land of the Aghvans for they were of the royal line. And both of them obeyed kings Yovhanne's and Ashot. But Ashot was unable to enter Ani all the days of his life.

There was a certain prince named Apirat, the son of Hasan, who was of two minds about going to Yovhanne's, because of his friendship with Ashot. He fled with 12,000 cavalry and went to the Iranian general, Apusahl, who received him with honor. However [Apusahl] had Apirat killed secretly by his troops, since he had been incited by his princes and feared [Apirat's] valor. Prince Sabi took Apirat's wife and sons and came to Yovhanne's in Ani in great mourning. Yovhanne's deeply regretted [Apirat's] unjust murder. He gave districts and authority to his sons and all the troops.

In that period the military head of the Daylamites (Delmanats') came through the Armenian districts to the fortress of Bjni. Now it happened that at that moment the *sparapet* [commander-in-chief] of the Armenians, Vasak Pahlawuni, lord of Bjni, with his son Grigor and other illustrious knights, were reclining on couches, joyfully getting drunk [g6]. [Vasak] looked out at the mountain road and when he saw someone coming along quickly, he said that the man was a bearer of bad news. The man arrived at the gate of the fortress and loudly shouted out: "The entire district has been enslaved!" Then the valiant Vasak entrusted his home and the fortress to Grigor, his son. He took communion and then armed himself for war, together with the knights who happened to be nearby. He did not assemble his entire force of about five thousand men. With P'ilippe', Gorg Ch'ortoanel, and brave Mihran, he wanted to battle with only one hundred troops. Arising, they went against the foreigners. They encountered many troops who had surrounded, and were slaughtering like lambs, those folk who had fled from the village into the church. Then valiant Vasak roared like a lion and attacked the foreigners, killing about three thousand of them. Those who were able to escape fled back to their army. Then the entire [Daylamite] army came against the Christians. Ready for death, they fell upon them, dividing the army into sections; and they wrought an astonishing slaughter.

[5] From among the troops of the foreigners there arose an awesome man who was a Qipchaq, and who was called "Seven Wolves" because of his bravery. In a loud voice he shouted out for Vasak, and came against him thundering. Vasak moved forward and struck his head with his sword. [The body of "Seven Wolves"] was split in two and fell to the ground. But Vasak's troops had become separated from each other and, because of the multitude of the foreigners, were unable to come together. On that day brave Mihran was killed in battle. Vasak cut through the troops of the [Daylamite] army and withdrew, because he wanted some respite from the enemy since he was greatly fatigued from fighting. Reaching [g7] a cave, he went to sleep. Now someone came and discovered him, and realizing that he was one of their enemies, forcefully struck and threw him down. Thus did this valiant warrior of Christ die.

In the year 421 A.E. [972] the Byzantine general, the *domesticus* (Demesklos), came against the city of Melitene with many troops and made it surrender after greatly afflicting it with hunger and thirst. Then [the general] went against the city of Tigranakert, which is called Amida (Amit'). The forces of the Tachiks arose before them in battle and were severely defeated by the gates of the city. The defeated Tachik troops turned in flight and entered the city while the Byzantine troops returned, with great victory, and encamped by the shores of the river called Awsl.

After a few days they were struck by divine wrath from On High. For the wind blew so violently that the day was darkened [by the debris] and the eye could not see, and because of the force of the wind, the army's armor and equipment ended up in the river. As soon as the infidels saw this they went against them, mercilessly cutting them down and capturing the *domesticus* and forty princes. Few of the Christians were able to free themselves.

[6] The princes of the foreigners, considering the great damage they had inflicted on the Christian troops, became frightened of the might of Emperor Nicephorus, since the news of his murder had not yet reached them. They considered kindly freeing [their captives] with an oath. While they were so deliberating, the news of Nicephorus' murder reached them and they relaxed and rejoiced. They transported the bound princes to Baghdad where all of them were to die. Now the *domesticus* wrote pitiful curses to Tzimisces to the effect that "We shed our blood at the gates of Tigranakert, even though our bodies were found unworthy of a blessed grave. On the Day of Judgement [g8] God will demand our blood from you if you do not seek vengeance for our blood from the race of Muhammad." When Tzimisces heard this he flew into a rage. He assembled all the Byzantine troops, taking along Frankish auxiliaries, planning first to master [the areas known as] First Armenia; and then he came and encamped in Cilicia, blanketing the Tarsus area with troops. News of his arrival reached the land of the Armenians.

[The following dignitaries] assembled by King Ashot: P'ilippe', king of Kapan, Georg, king of the Aghvank', Abas, lord of Kars, Senek'erim, lord of Vaspurakan, Gurge'n, lord of Andzewats'ik', as well as all the Houses of the Armenians and the royal troops. Valiant King Ashot took them and all the braves and encamped in the district of Hark'. When they tallied the troops, the military commanders recorded 300,600 cavalrymen. Emperor Tzimisces' envoy came to King Ashot and saw their great preparedness for battle; then returned and reported to the emperor. With the returning Byzantine envoys, King Ashot sent his own envoys to Emperor Tzimisces, bishops and *vardapets*, and they made peace between the two monarchs.

John Tzimisces quit Cilicia with a great host and arrived at the district of Taro'n. King Ashot went before him with many soldiers. [The two] met each other with salutations and affection. For assistance, Ashot gave [Tzimisces] 80,000 horsemen and 20,000 infantry, as well as the valiant military commander, Ge'org, and numerous provisions and stipends, and sent along the bishop, Lord Sargis, the *vardapet* Ghewond, and prince Iwane'. Then he returned to his own land.

Emperor Tzimisces went to fight against the Tachik troops. And he dyed the ground with their blood, razing to the foundations many fortresses and cities, and capturing three hundred cities right up to the gates of Babylon, which is called [g9] Baghdad. He crushed the forces of the caliph, seized 100,000 of his horses and mules, and turned against Amida. The ruler of Amida was a woman, the sister of the Tachik emir Haman. She went onto the [city] walls and cried out: "Oh Tzimisces, are you not ashamed to come to fight against a woman?" Tzimisces responded: "I have vowed to demolish the city's walls." Then the woman retorted: "Go demolish the bridge over the Tigris River and you can fulfill your oath with that." That is just what [Tzimisces] did, and then departed. However, they say that previously the emperor had indulged in sin[ful behavior with the woman] since Tzimisces was from [the town of] Ch'mshkatsakk' in Xozan, and so was that woman. He also wanted to demolish Edessa (Ur'ha), but because of the monasteries, he spared it and departed, going through the interior of the country down to Jerusalem and freeing all the Christians from

servitude to the infidels. Then he came to Cilicia again and dispatched to King Ashot the prince of the Armenians, the troops and the bishops with many troops and gifts. The king's gifts [included] huge treasures of gold, silver, plus a letter with the following import.

[7] "To Ashot, king of Greater Armenia, my spiritual son, rejoice in the Lord. Realize just how great is God's mercy upon us, for he gave us victory over our enemies. None of them was able to resist, and so we dulled our swords [killing] the Tachik forces, while we made the rest tributary to ourselves. Taking much spoil and many of [the Tachiks] as captives, we turned to the interior of the land, taking the relics of St. James from the city of Nisibis (Mtsbin) along with us. Coming to the interior [parts] of our [former] realm, we totally destroyed our enemy, and then turned aside and wintered out in the open, giving stipends to our troops. Then we went to the city of Antioch and took it, and also took captive all the surrounding villages. We reached Hams and Hamah which accepted us and obediently [g10] became tributary to us. Then we proceeded to the impregnable Aleppo, which came out in battle against us. Our troops destroyed them and took from them a large amount of gold treasure and girls. [Our troops] also took [the district of] Anatolya. We went to Damascus and wanted to besiege it, but the chief of the city, who was a wise and white-haired man, came before us with many gifts, beseeching us to let him be tributary to us. They accepted one of our generals [as overseer] and gave us a document of submission. We went to Tiberias, where our Lord Jesus Christ walked, and we took the Divine Cross from there. They also gave us many treasures, took one of our generals [as overseer] and gave us a document of submission. Then we went to Nazareth, [the town] where the blessed Virgin Mary received glad tidings from the angel. We went up holy Mt. Tabor and worshipped. And behold, while we were there, [officials] came to us from Ramla (R'amele') and Jerusalem, greatly entreating us to accept their tribute and requesting a general [as overseer]. Then we wished to liberate the Holy Sepulcher of Christ from service to the Tachiks. We established many cavalymen and generals in all the districts which were tributary to us. We captured Acre, Tripoli, and all the fortresses and cities by the shore—Jabala (Jebela), Saone (Sehun), and Burzuya (Burzaw)— and placed men and generals in all of them. Then we moved on to Gabawo, taking the holy sandals of Jesus [g11], from Biwriton [we took] the icon of Christ which the Jews had subsequently pierced, as well as some hairs from [the head of] John the Baptist. We took [these relics] and brought them [to Constantinople] for the protection of our own city. Now, having heard all this, be joyful and praise God Who, by means of our kingdom, has increased and broadened the glorify of the name of Christ. For [territories] from the great [city of] Caesarea to the great [city of] Baghdad (Babylon) together with the coastal areas I have made to submit and have placed under my command. Give thanks to Christ God now and forever, amen." [The emperor] also wrote to the *protospatharius* and to the general in Taro'n for them to send to King Ashot a chrysobull, 30,000 *dahekans*, 2,000 servants, and 10,000 horses and mules for the affection and unity which [Ashot] had displayed. He also wrote to the *vardapet* Pantaleo'n for him and [Smbat] T'or'nets'i and the *protospatharius* to quickly [g12] come to Constantinople with many bishops to participate in a great and renowned ceremony for the icon of Christ, the sandals, the hair of John the Baptist—and to hold a discussion with the Byzantine *vardapets* in the monarch's presence. The patriarch sent them without delay. They went [to Constantinople] and returned to Shirak with great honors and gifts. Then fear of death and of the judgement of God entered the emperor's heart, because of the unjust killing of Nicephorus. After the fifth year of his reign, [John Tzimisces] sent to [the village of] Vaskawan and had Romanus' sons, Basil and Constantine, fetched. Then he held a great assembly and placed the crown on Basil's head, while he himself, Tzimisces, prostrated himself before him. He also gave all his belongings to Emperor Basil [II, Bulgaroctonus, 976-1025], while he himself withdrew to a monastery to atone for [his wicked deeds] and to cleanse his person of sin.

[8] In the year 424 A.E. [975] during the reign of Basil, the forces of the Armenians were crushed in the district of Andzewats'ik', through the treachery of Aplgharip, who formerly was the military chief of the king of Andzewats'ik', Derenik. [King Derenik] had removed [Aplgharip] from the position of *stratelate* and had appointed [g13] in his place a certain Sargis. As a result Aplgharip was extremely insulted, since he was a valiant and warlike man, and thus he became an informer to the army of the foreigners. He told them: "I will

not fight against you, but as a signal [to you, I] will place my standard (which is red) on the hill where you can see it." The king, meanwhile, sat disporting himself in great joy, without a care, together with his knights. Suddenly the army of the foreigners came upon them at night, wrought great destruction, seized the king, and took him as a captive to Her. They did not dare to cross into the territories of Aplgharip. On that day, [the monastery of] Varag and all the monasteries placed heavy curses on Aplgharip and expelled him from the Christian faith. When Aplgharip came to his senses, he wept bitterly and repented the damage he had done to the servants of God. Then he investigated which prison [or fortress] the king was being kept in. Aplgharip learned to his delight that Emir Aplhach had freed [King Derenik] and always kept him with him for playing polo. Aplgharip secretly sent word to the king: "At such and such an hour and at such and such a place my troops and I will wait in ambush. Be ready on that day and, mounted on a swift horse, leave the playing-field, come to me, and do not worry about a thing." [King Derenik] did as instructed, prepared a fast horse [g14] and went with it to play polo. He took the ball and placed it at some distance, and then left them and raced off to Aplgharip, trusting in God's assistance. When the emir observed this, in a rage he had his troops pursue him, but the king had bravely reached Aplgharip. A Qipchaq fighter, a mighty man from the foreigners' troops, went against Aplgharip. [Aplgharip] struck him with his sword, splitting him in two down to the groin. When the foreigners saw this they turned in flight, with Aplgharip and his troops in pursuit. He pursued the emir up to the city gates [through which the emir] entered, then [Aplgharip] valiantly struck the iron gate with a steel axe which penetrated and remained stuck in place for quite some time thereafter. And thus, bravely, he turned back and brought the king to his own place, freeing him from servitude to the foreigners, and being blessed by the monastics and everyone else. This took place in the Armenian district of Chuaysh, at the village called Bak, which borders Vaspurakan.

In 427 A.E. [978] the blessed patriarch Anania passed from this world [Anania I Mokats'i, 946-968]. By order of Yovhane's and Ashot, the two kings of the Armenians, a holy man named Vahan [Vahan I Siwnets'i, 968-969] was ordained in his place [as *kat'oghikos*]. In this period a certain man named Scelerus (Siklar'os) rebelled from [g15] the Byzantine emperor Basil. Assembling an army of wicked folk, [Scelerus] did great harm to the Byzantine lands and then came and entered the land of the Armenians where he wrought much destruction. But then the forces of the Armenians came upon him and valiantly defeated him, causing his troops to flee while he himself went to Baghdad. After three years he returned to Byzantine territory where he perished.

[9] In the year 432 A.E. [983] the blessed patriarch Vahan died. By order of the two kings, Yovhane's and Ashot, a mild and meek man named Step'annos [III, Sewants'i, 969-972] was ordained [as *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians] by Yovhane's, the *kat'oghikos* of the Aghvans. In this period Mamlan, the impious emir of the Iranians, came against the Armenians with an awesome host and, through fire and the taking of captives, he subjected the land and churches of the Armenians to looting. He reached the land of the *curopalate* David in the district of Apahunik' and [g16] wrote these threats to David: "Give me ten years' worth of taxes and enroll your sons as my servants, or else I shall come against you with many troops and then we shall see if God saves you from my hands." When David heard this, he assembled his forces, taking [auxiliaries also] from the Georgians and Armenians and, in the name of the Lord, went before the infidels. [David] descended into the borders of Apahunik' and he and all the monastics prayed together. He appointed the valiant man Karmrakel as a night guard with seven hundred horsemen. Early in the morning someone from the infidel army arrived with one thousand horsemen and, before daybreak, Karmrakel and the foreigners engaged. At that time of day there was still dew [on the ground], and the moon was still shining down brightly on all the mountains round about. So when the foreigners viewed the scene, they thought [that the reflections caused by the dew] were all Christian troops and, terrified, they turned in flight, with Karmrakel pursuing and destroying them. He captured Mamlan's wife and then informed David who quickly arrived with his troops and wrought a great slaughter. Mamlan escaped by a hairsbreadth and departed in disgrace. However after several years some impious men from David's House plotted to kill this God-loving man. As an assistant they had the impious [g17] bishop Hilarion (Vrarion). He committed an evil, like unto Mrjunik' [in P'awstos'

History of the Armenians, IV.15] by mixing poison into the life-giving [wine] of communion, and giving it to the God-loving David. But [David] did not falter and it was a great miracle that the poison acted as a medicine which cured all his aches and pains. The impious bishop, however, was not satisfied with this wickedness. Rather, one day when the God-loving [David] was sleeping in his chamber, [Hilarion] entered and, taking a pillow from [David's] bed, put it over his mouth and held it down. David suffocated. But after a few days, Basil seized [Hilarion] and his wicked advisors, tied stones to their necks, and threw them into the sea.

[10] In 434 A.E. [985] the blessed patriarch Step'annos died. Lord Xach'ik [I, Arsharunets'i, 973-992], a wise man fully versed in Divine Scripture, was ordained to occupy [the *kat'oghikos*] throne. The metropolitan of Melitene wrote a letter to [Xach'ik], and he and *vardapet* Samue'l wrote a reply [g18].

In the year 437 A.E. [988] severe earthquake(s) occurred throughout the world, causing [the church of] St. Sophia in Constantinople to collapse. The same year Emperor Basil sent [a message] to Ali Osman (Alo'sian), king of the Bulgars, to come to him in submission. However [Ali Osman] did not agree to this. Thus Basil attacked him with numerous troops, was defeated by [the Bulgars], and returned in disgrace. But two years later [Basil] again went against the Bulgars, seeking vengeance for his [previous] losses. However he was unable to accomplish anything of a[n important] military nature, except for capturing some villages; and so he returned to Constantinople.

In the year 440 A.E. [991] Lord Xach'ik died and Lord Sargis [I, Sewants'i, 992-1019] was ordained [*kat'oghikos*] in his stead. During the same year the Arabs arose from Egypt and went to the district of Antioch, seizing much booty. The Byzantine troops went to fight with them but were defeated and fled. The Arabs captured [some of] their princes and took them to Egypt. Two years later a Byzantine duke came to the land of the Armenians with many troops and, like the infidels, began destroying Christ's believers [g19]. The forces of the Armenians rose against them, putting [many of] them to the sword, while the rest returned to their own land in shame. During the same year a Tachik emir, called "Long Hand" (*Erkaynadzer'n*), came with many troops, crossed the Euphrates River, captured the land of Edessa and [territories including] the borders of Armenia, and then triumphantly returned to his own land.

In the year 443 A.E. [994] a comet appeared in the heavens.

In the year 449 A.E. [1000] friendship was established between Emperor Basil and Senek'erim, [a] king of the Armenians. In the same year *marzpan* Sahak, lord of the Varazhnunik', died.

[11] In the year 455 A.E. [1006] Emperor Basil once again entered the territory of the Bulgars with numerous troops and waged many battles there for an extended period. In these days there was a great disturbance in Constantinople, for they strayed from [celebrating] the feast of Easter [on its] correct [date], and instead moved it to Palm Sunday. They did the same at Jerusalem and, in their arrogance, divided all the peoples in contention. [The miraculous] flame [in Jerusalem's Church of the Resurrection] did not [spontaneously] light on that Easter. When the infidels who were in Jerusalem saw such confusion, they attacked [g20] the [Christian] houses of prayer killing without mercy, to the point that the blessed Church of the Resurrection was filled with blood. Meanwhile Emperor Basil had subdued the Bulgars and returned to Constantinople. There he learned about the erroneous Easter [controversy] and questioned the Byzantine sages about the causes [of the unrest]. They responded with lies and began to mislead the emperor. When the emperor realized this, he wrote to the Armenians, to King Yovhane's of Armenia, regarding the matter so that he would quickly send to the emperor *vardapets* and wise men. King Yovhane's sent to Yovse'p', abbot of [the monastery of] Andzawats'eats', and Yovhane's Kozer'n, but they did not want to go. Rather they sent a letter explaining the matter. The [Byzantine] clerics, however, did not accept this, so [Basil] wrote a second time, this time insistently and with great entreaty, to Lord Sargis, the *kat'oghikos*, and to King Yovhane's, for them to apply themselves to the matter. Thus they quickly sent to him the *vardapet* Lord Samue'l. [The

emperor] was overjoyed by this [g21], and designated [Samue'l] to speak with the Byzantine sages in an investigation. They brought forth all the writings of the Byzantines, but were unable to refute him. Samue'l began [his review] with the first day of Creation and brought it right down to the present [situation], explaining and confirming all the calendrical reasons [for the celebration of Easter on the proper day]. His words were very pleasing to Emperor Basil. When the Byzantine sages had been bested, they told the king about an extremely learned and brilliant Hebrew man living in Cyprus. The emperor had him quickly brought to Constantinople. The Hebrew man attended the deliberations. He listened to the statements of *vardapet* Samue'l and agreed with them. The emperor greatly praised his wisdom, causing great embarrassment to the Byzantine sages. Disenchanted with them, the emperor deprived them of [their] honor, while he sent the *vardapet*, Lord Samue'l, back to his own land with many gifts. Thereafter the Armenians were praised.

In the year 457 A.E. [1008] during the reign of Basil, a star arose which looked like fire, and there were earthquakes everywhere. After this [manifestation of divine] wrath, a disease called *xulik* broke out. [The symptoms] clearly manifested themselves on [the human] body and were so severe that people did not have time for communion, but died forthwith [g22], both man and beast. Many people and animals died from it.

In the year 460 A.E. [1011] Basil again entered [the land of the] Bulgars, destroying the West, poisoning to death King Ali Osman, and taking his wife and son back to Constantinople.

[12] In the year 465 A.E. [1016] divine anger was let loose on the Christians. An enormous host of countless barbaric people, known as Turks, came and entered the land of the Armenians in the district of Vaspurakan and began to mercilessly destroy Christ's faithful. News of this [invasion] reached Senek'erim. He sent his son David against them with many troops. When David reached [the Turks] the two sides fought each other in a fierce battle. The [Turkish] bowmen who had [long] hair, like women, began shooting arrows at the Armenian troops, since the Armenian soldiers were not protected against arrows. David, the king's son, was confident of his personal powers and did not want to retreat from battle until his tutor Shapuh, following after him with great anger, removed him from the fray. When they returned and related to Senek'erim [information] about the appearance of the foreigners, [the king] became greatly distraught and would neither eat nor drink, but instead wept and lamented the destruction of the land of the Armenians and the ruination of the Christians. At that point [King Senek'erim] considered giving the land of his patrimony [g23] to Basil, emperor of the Byzantines, and receiving [in exchange] Sebastia. He quickly wrote to the emperor. When Emperor Basil heard about this, he was delighted and gave Sebastia to him. Senek'erim [ceded] the land of Vaspurakan with seventy-two fortresses and four thousand four hundred villages. However [Senek'erim] did not give up [Vaspurakan's] monasteries, retaining one hundred and fifteen monasteries, to pray for him. All this was given to Basil in writing. Emperor Basil sent [to Senek'erim] for him to send David [to Constantinople] in royal splendor, and Senek'erim sent with him four hundred sons of his knights, the bishop Lord Eghishe', three hundred mules to carry the treasure and other goods, and one thousand Tachik horses. With this grandeur David entered Constantinople. The city was roused [by the event]. The streets and palaces were decorated, and numerous treasures were bestowed on him. Emperor Basil was exceedingly pleased when he saw David, took him to Saint Sophia, and adopted him. [People] honored him as the emperor's son. The emperor gave him many gifts and then sent him back to his father, also giving Sebastia with many districts [to Senek'erim]. Senek'erim came to Sebastia with his entire family and [his] common folk. And thus the land of the Armenians became lordless, having neither kings nor princes.

In the year 470 A.E. [1021] Basil came to the East with an incalculable number of troops and demanded [the cities of] Ani and Kars. Gagik's son Yovhann's thought to cede them because of his weak heart [g24]. Meanwhile Basil returned to his own land and wrote to King George [I, Gorg, 1014-1027] of Georgia for him to come forth in submission, something he refused to do. So Emperor Basil went against him in battle. R'at and Zoyat, brave men and brothers of Liparit, forcefully struck Basil's troops, though R'at was slain when his horse got stuck in the mud there. The Georgian forces turned in flight while the troops of Basil pursued and

destroyed them. Basil remained there for three months, until he had pacified them, then he wintered in Trabizond. Lord Petros, the *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, and Yovhanne's Kozer'n came to Emperor Basil with numerous religious items. The emperor received them with honor. When the great [feast] day of the baptism of our Lord arrived, the emperor honored Lord Petros and the *vardapet* of the Armenians and seated them above the Byzantine prelates. Moreover, he ordered Lord Petros to bless the waters. When [Petros] had poured out the *miwron* of blessed oil and touched the water with the cross an intense flame appeared over the water and the river locked up and would not flow. When the emperor and the troops saw this they were terrified. Basil bowed down and, under the guidance of Petros, poured the blessed water over his head. Then Lord Petros returned to the land of the Armenians with great gifts. After a while Basil came to Antioch covertly with three trusted men to visit [g25] a place called Paghkts'eak on Black Mountain to receive baptism from the [spiritual] father of the place. Thereafter [Basil] was like a father to the land of the Armenians.

[13] In the year 471 A.E. [1022] Lord Sargis, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, died and Lord Petros [I, Getadardz, 1019-1058] was seated on the patriarchal throne. In the same year a certain powerful Byzantine prince named Nicephorus, nicknamed "Crooked Neck," arose against Basil, calling on King George of Georgia and the sons of Gagik to unite with him. Out of fear of him, David also went to him with Armenian troops. Basil was horrified. He sent entreaties to David, begging him to find some way to destroy [Nicephorus]. However, "Crooked Neck" liked David a lot and promised to seat him on the throne of the Armenian kingdom. Yet David did not want to break the treaty he had with Basil. So one day David went to [Nicephorus'] home on the pretext of [inquiring about some] disturbance. Nicephorus arose alone and embraced [David], beseeching him to turn back. David gave a signal to his men, killing "Crooked Neck" on the spot, and [Nicephorus'] men took to flight. When Basil heard about this he was truly delighted and gave to David as gifts [the cities of] Caesarea and Tsamndaw, and all of Xawatane'k with its borders. Then, in a great rage, Basil went against George, the king of the Georgians, with many troops. A great battle took place in front of Dzion fortress. George fled to some secure fortresses where he enrolled himself as Basil's vassal and sent him his son [g26] as a hostage. After this Basil went to the land of the Persians, encamping at the gates of the city of Her, in summertime. One day a great deal of snow fell on the cavalry and, not knowing what to do, they fled in panic. The land flooded from so much water, causing them to get inextricably stuck in the mud, and they did not know what to do. The emperor killed thirteen thousand men of his own infantry, filled the swamp with [their corpses], and crossed over. He came to winter at Melitene and thence went on to Constantinople.

During the reign of Basil, in the year 478 A.E. [1029], a frightful omen appeared in the sky when the heavens split apart and an intense light descended to the ground. Everyone was terrified at the outpouring of light. Then [people] gathered by Yovhanne's Kozer'n, a *vardapet* of the Armenians, and made inquiries about the frightening portent. In tears [Kozer'n] began to tell them about the evils about to be visited upon the country in the future.

[14] In this year Basil died, after a reign of forty-eight years [976-1025] and the throne was occupied by his brother, Constantine [VIII, 1025-1028] to whom he entrusted the land of the Armenians.

[Basil also entrusted to Constantine] Senek'erim's sons, Atom and Dawit', and Apusahl and Kostand, and all the princes and lands of the Armenians.

In the same year [1027] King Senek'erim died and was buried at the monastery of Varag. Then David sat on his throne. And in the same year George, king of the Georgians, died and the throne was occupied by his son Bagarat [Bagrat IV, 1027-1072] [g27]. As for the Byzantine emperor Constantine, he was a goodly man who was merciful toward all. He released everyone held in prison and shut down all those places of destruction where Basil had hanged by the neck on iron hooks the Byzantine grandees [and whose bodies were] still

clothed. When Constantine observed them, he wept and ordered them buried, and he blamed his brother, saying: "If a person has been condemned to death why commit crimes such as these in this transitory life?" Constantine himself, after ruling for four years in peace and with proper conduct, passed to Christ. While he was still alive, he had married his daughter to a certain prince named Romanus [III, Argyrus, 1028-1034], for [Constantine] himself had no son. Everyone submitted to him.

In the year 479 A.E. [1030] Romanus came against the land of the Tachiks with many troops. He reached [the fortress] of 'Azaz, near Aleppo, and besieged it. The Tachiks assembled and came against him in battle, which frightened him so much that he fled in terror during the night. The foreigners pursued and slaughtered a huge number [of Constantine's troops], while the survivors fled in disarray wherever they could. After fourteen days a certain man from [the town of] Cyrrhus came upon the emperor hiding in the trees [g28], numb from the cold and [almost] dead from hunger. He brought him to his home, healed and restored him to life and then released him, without knowing who he was. [Romanus] went to Marash where his dispersed troops gathered and took him back to Constantinople. These things had befallen him because he was a weak and evil-doing man who cursed the blessed faith. As for the man who had revived him, [Romanus] summoned him and gave him gifts and then returned him to his own home. In this period, in the city of Edessa there were two emirs who were plotting to destroy each other. As a result there was disturbance in the city and so troops of Tachiks from many districts arrived and began to attack each other, placing the city in a great crisis. Meanwhile the man who held the fortress realized the impossibility [of holding out] and summoned the Christian [Byzantine commander] Maniaces to come from Samosata. Then secretly, at night, he let [Maniaces'] troops into the fortress and surrendered it to him. When this had occurred, the Tachiks assembled at the city of Edessa from all quarters, battling against the fortress, and putting Maniaces in great straits. When [the Tachiks] were unable to take the fortress in any way, they planned to burn down the city and leave. The citizens set fire to some of it but they entreated them not to burn it down. [The Tachiks] left and returned to their own districts. Maniaces and his troops were in danger of starving and were unable to find any food. The emperor ordered that sacks of wheat be brought into the city at night on the backs [of imperial troops]. But the Tachiks found out about this, killed them [g29], and took the wheat. Maniaces remained in grave danger until the emperor made peace with [the Tachiks]. Then there was great peace and the city filled up with bread. This occurred during the reign of Romanus, in the year 480 A.E. [1031].

[15] In the year 481 A.E. [1032] there was a severe famine in all the countries, and in the same year Romanus died [d. 1034], poisoned to death by his wife, Zoe (Ker'azo'e'), the daughter of Emperor Constantine. The queen took Michael [V, the Paphlagonian, 1034-1041] and seated him on the throne. In the same year Senek'erim's son, David, died and his brother, Atom, sat on his throne. He was a man full of virtue, piety, and benevolence, a maintainer of orphans and widows, who was merciful toward all.

In the year 484 A.E. [1035] many Tachik troops arose and crossed the Euphrates River, and destroyed the district of Edessa and Sewerag and all their borders. Michael, the emperor's brother, came with troops against the Tachiks. But when he reached Melitene, he did not dare to engage in battle. The troops of the Tachiks disengaged and returned to their own land. The Byzantine troops did likewise.

In the year 485 A.E. [1036] a certain prince [g30] of the Armenians, called Gandzi, assembled numerous troops and went against the city of Berkri. He took it, killed the Persians, then harried its fortress with a siege, while he encamped with his troops, eating and drinking without a care. When the lord of the fortress learned about this, he took his auxiliary forces and came upon them unawares, killing Gandzi and slaughtering his forces in Berkri. Tachat, the son of Gandzi from his patrimonial House, remained in his father's place.

[16] In the year 486 A.E. [1037] Lord Petros the patriarch, unbeknownst to anyone, arose and secretly went to the monastery of Dzor in the land of Vaspurakan and resided there, abandoning his pastoral duties and [the *kat'oghikosal*] throne. [This was because] the king and all the lords did not listen to him, did not heed what he

said to them about the commandments of God. He stayed there for four months and there was great mourning among the Armenians. Then the king and all the lords wrote a letter of repentance to him, promising to heed whatever he commanded. However, they did this duplicitously, swearing a false oath [to Petros], and using as an intermediary the Byzantine prince who had come there as a governor. When the blessed patriarch heard their duplicitous [pledges], he believed them, and returned to his throne. However, as soon as he arrived in Ani [g31], they seized him by the king's order, and put him into prison for a year and six months. The king brought De'oskoros, abbot of [the monastery of] Sanahin, and seated him on the throne of the *kat'oghikosate*, without an assembly of bishops and priests. Thus no one accepted him, nor was his name mentioned in the blessed church along with the other patriarchs, since everyone considered him unworthy. [De'oskoros], growing bold from the disease of vainglory, made many unworthy [people] bishops, called to him those whom the former patriarch had rejected, and accepted them as worthy. But the bishops and *vardapets* of the Armenians anathematized the king and all the lords. Then the king and the princes, terrified by the anathemas, wanted to return Lord Petros to his [*kat'oghikosal*] throne but the latter, for many days, did not agree. With great entreaties, they begged his forgiveness, yet he did not want to sit on his throne. Forced [by these circumstances], they wrote entreaties to Lord Step'annos, [*kat'oghikos*] of the Aghuanians, explaining what had transpired. [Step'annos] quickly arrived there with bishops and they convened all the orders of the clergy, the princes and the knights, a great assembly of four thousand people in Ani, with the blessed elder Yusep' at the head. They confirmed Lord Petros on his *kat'oghikosal* throne with great honor. As for that impious chief-bishop De'oskoros, they removed him with great insults and caused him much sorrow [g32]. All those who had been ordained by him were removed from their stations and departed in shame, being in opposition to the *kat'oghikos* Lord Petros for one year. [17] This occurred in 489 A.E. [1040]. In the same year a comet appeared in the western part [of the heavens] and, traveling a in a backward direction, touched the Pleiades and the moon and then vanished. In the same year Michael entered [the lands of the] Bulgars with numerous troops. They waged a fierce battle with [the Bulgars] and conquered them. But [the Bulgars] cried out in unison to God and then turned upon the Byzantines, putting Emperor Michael to flight and destroying the Byzantine forces. Michael reached Constantinople alone, since [the Bulgars] had stripped him of his provisions and troops. Then the Bulgars reigned [in their own land], having freed themselves from service [to the Byzantines]. In the same year Ashot Bagratuni, king of the Armenians, died and was buried in the royal mausoleum at Ani. He was survived by a fifteen-year-old son. But following Ashot's death, the princes of Armenia grew soft, despising battle and [instead] enjoying drinking bouts and minstrels. And they entered Byzantine service, betraying one another to them. They dissolved the unity which had existed among them. They lamented for the country which the foreigners were putting to the sword and they grieved for each other's destruction, having lost their valor. In the same year the Persian emir Abu'l-Uswar (Apusuar) massed troops, and arrived in the land [g33] of the Aghvank' in the district [held by] David Anhoghin [the Landless, king of Lor'i, 989-1046/48], where he brought great affliction to the faithful. David was afraid to battle against him and so Abu'l-Uswar took numerous districts and fortresses. He remained there for a year, subduing a great portion of the land. David sent to King Yovhannes in Ani, saying: "Help me to stand against Abu'l-Uswar or else I will go and submit to him, be his guide, and wreck your district of Shirak." When Yovhannes heard this, he gave him three thousand horsemen for support. [David] similarly sent to the king of the Abkhaz [Bagrat IV, 1027-1072] who gave him five thousand horsemen, and he assembled his own troops, some twelve thousand men. [David] then summoned the *kat'oghikos* of the Aghuanians, Lord Yusep', with all the bishops and brought into the camp all the inhabitants of the land, [including] women and children. He told them that they all should take in their hands as weapons the cross of Christ and the gospels and to those who longed for martyrdom [he said] lo, the time has come for it. Thus the army was [fortified] with crosses and gospels, which caused great mirth to Abu'l-Uswar when he learned about it. David deployed his twenty thousand troops opposite them and then attacked the army of the foreigners, while the priests and the people raised their voices to God, weeping and crying: "Lord come help and save us for Your name" [g34]. At that point the army of the foreigners took to flight, pursued by the Christian forces which completely wiped them out. As for David, in three days time he had retaken all the country which had been ravished from him, gave gifts to everyone and sent them back to their homes. David

pacified the land. In the same year a certain impious prince of Senek'erim went to the Byzantine emperor and accused Atom [Senek'erim's son] of planning to rebel and create disturbance. [18] The emperor believed this and sent his *acolyth* to Sebastia accompanied by fifteen thousand horsemen to forcibly bring them [Senek'erim's sons] so that they would not flee. Hearing this, they went to Constantinople voluntarily. As soon as they entered the city, they went in tears to the grave of Emperor Basil and, placing his written oath on top of his grave, they said: "Oh our father, you brought us to this land, now judge those who threaten us with death." When the emperor heard about this, he was astounded by their wisdom and [realized their] innocence. He ordered that their accuser be destroyed and then returned them to Sebastia with great gifts.

In the year 490 A.E. [1041] King Yovhanne's died and was buried along with his fathers. Then Michael, emperor of the Byzantines, came to Armenia with numerous troops, destroying the land with the sword and through captive-taking. For previously Yovhanne's had given a document to the Byzantines [stating that] after his [g35] death, Ani should pass to them. An impious prince named Sargis, from the line of Hayk, informed Michael that he would give him the land of the Armenians as a gift, and then he stole the treasures of the kings and holed up in a fortress. He held numerous towns and wanted to be king of the Armenians. However the Bagratid House would not accept this. Meanwhile, [David] the Landless came against the land of the Armenians and subdued many districts, since there was no leader in Armenia. [Byzantine troops] came against the royal city of Ani. Then the remainder of the Armenian troops gathered around the *sparapet* of the Armenians, Vahram Palhawuni, and sought war against the Byzantine troops, since they could not endure their harsh and wicked insults. So [the Armenians troops], filled with rage, attacked and forced these arrogant troops to flee, putting them to the sword. Those who had escaped [the slaughter] by a hairsbreadth were unable to flee because of the ferocious clamor of the Armenians. Finally the virtuous Vahram Palhawuni went among them and barely was able to mollify the Armenian troops into allowing a short rest to permit the survivors to depart. Out of ten thousand [Byzantine troops] only one hundred escaped. Thereafter they did not dare to trouble Ani, and thus the commotion ended. In this period a young, attractive, and wise lad appeared named Gagik, son of King Ashot Bagratuni, who was versed in Scripture. The princes of the Armenians assembled [g36] by order of the great Grigor, son of Vasak Palhawuni, and, going to the blessed patriarch Lord Petros, they anointed Gagik king over the land of the Armenians. Gagik [II, 1042-1045, d.1079] was a pious, God-loving man, who was invincible among the learned, and who established the throne of his kingdom with wisdom. His troops seized the rebel Sargis and by torture they detached from him the fortresses, the royal treasury, and the districts which he had seized. Furthermore the Byzantine troops had ceased demanding Ani, and the land of the Armenians became peaceful. Then Gagik assembled the Armenian troops and went through his patrimonial lands, subduing the disobedient and persecuting his opponents. [19] He went and encamped in the city of Vagharshapat in the district of Ayrarat, to take vengeance on the peoples of the south. Then the great Gorgios [Gregory] Pahlawuni (Palhavuni), son of Vasak, armed himself and went and struck camp near the Axuran River, close to the fortress of Bjni. The troops of the foreigners came to fight the Armenian troops, and a fierce battle ensued. The Armenian forces defeated them and then with God's aid they put the foreigners to flight, slaughtering many of them. [The Armenians] arrested their princes, while the remainder fled to Persia. In this period Michael, emperor of the Byzantines, died and his sister's son, Kesar'os [Michael V, Caliphat, 1041-1042], reigned for [only] four months due to the impudent things he did. [For example] [g37], he cut off the hair of Emperor Constantine's daughter, Zoe, as though she were a whore, and sent her into exile. He also seized the patriarch and put him in prison, since he wanted to advance his own impious and loathsome family. The patriarch cleverly freed himself from his fetters and escaped into [the church of] St. Sophia. There he held a meeting of the princes. They seized the caesar [Michael V] and his clanmates, blinded them, brought the empress and others who had been exiled back to Constantinople with great honor, and were exceedingly pleased. In the same year the lord of Her and Salmast came [with his troops] against the district of Vaspurakan. Xach'ik, the lord of Vaspurakan, was a valiant and martial man who had engaged in warfare over a long period, but [at this point] he was elderly. His sons, Hasan and Chnchghuk, were [out of the country] with Emperor Michael, while [Xach'ik's] young son, Ishxan, was still a boy. Thus, forced by circumstances, [Xach'ik] went off to fight, having few troops with him. He harassed the army of the

foreigners. Meanwhile his son Ishxan, without his father's approval, entered the fray unprepared and was slain by the enemy. Seeing this, Xach'ik lost his heart for battle and was himself slain. After some days his sons, Hasan and Chnchghuk, returned from the West dressed in mourning and grieved over their father and brother. Then the eldest son, Hasan, summoned [g38] a Kurdish chief [r'ayis] who was his friend, gave him a thousand *dahekans*, and told him to go to Her and Salmast and to say: "The land of Vaspurakan is empty. Why are you idle when numerous flocks of sheep and servants roam about unattended?" The chief did this, and the foreigners assembled many troops and came and encamped in that place. The chief came and informed Hasan about the developments. He gathered their own forces and prepared to go against them in battle. Hasan shouted out in front of the foreign troops: "Who is the man who killed my father, Xach'ik, and my brother, Ishxan?" Then a powerful Qipchaq (*xap'shik*) boldly retorted: "I did. And look here, I have his horse and arms." Then the valiant Hasan fell upon him and cut him in two with his sword, and retrieved his father's horse and weapon. Similarly, Chnchghuk requested his brother's killer, and another man came forth boasting and showed himself. [Chnchghuk] hurled a spear into his heart and he fell to the ground. And he retrieved his brother's horse and weapon. Then valiantly attacking, they destroyed them, taking all their goods and returning joyfully to their homes.

[20] In the year 492 A.E. [1043] Constantine Monomachus, which translates "single combatant," ruled over the Byzantines. In the same year [g39] he was attacked by Maniaces, who previously had captured Edessa, placed a crown on his head and assembled many troops, having support from the land of the Romans. The entire West was subdued by him through fear since he was a forceful man and a valiant warrior. Monomachus went against him in battle with the entire Byzantine army. But suddenly and unexpectedly Maniaces departed this life, and the Byzantines were pacified. In this period the impious Sargis, who was in the east in Persia, contacted Monomachus and told him to summon Gagik to Constantinople with affection and not to let him leave until he had yielded up the city of Ani. This seed of wickedness took root in [Monomachus'] heart, and he wrote a letter to Gagik, the king of the Armenians, summoning him with mighty oaths of affection based on the holy Cross and the Gospel of Christ. When Gagik heard about this he did not want to go. Meanwhile the impious Sargis with his confederates went to the king and encouraged him, saying: "Oh king, why are you afraid to go? Why do you distrust such an oath? If you have doubts about us, know that we are ready to give our lives for you." They designated Lord Petros as an intermediary, served up Holy Communion and, dipping a pen into [the wine], swore [loyalty to him] with a strong oath on that day. Then Gagik, trusting them, went to Constantinople. By order of the emperor, the entire city went out before [Gagik] with great pomp, and received [g40] him with much honor. As for those deniers of Christ who had made such a terrible [false] oath, they sent forty keys of the city of Ani [to Monomachus] with a letter stating that "the entire East belongs to you." The emperor summoned Gagik, placed the keys and the letters before him, and said: "Your princes have given Ani and the entire East to me." At that point Gagik realized the treacherous deed which had been done and exclaimed: "Let God judge between me and my treacherous [lords]." Gagik said to Monomachus: "I am king of the land of the Armenians and I will not give Ani to you, since they sent me to Constantinople with a false oath." Gagik persisted in not accepting matters for thirty days, but when he could find no way out, he gave Armenia into the hands of the Byzantines. [In return], Monomachus gave to Gagik [the areas of] Kalon Peghat and Pizu. Gagik sent to the city of Ani and had all his belongings brought to Byzantium, and he became an unhappy exile among the cruel and wicked [Byzantine] nation. But wherever he went he caused trouble for the Byzantines, for the praiseworthy Gagik was like a fearsome and majestic king in their midst.

[21] The next year, which was 493 A.E. [1044], Monomachus sent to the east a eunuch called the *paracoemomenus* with many troops to demand the city of Ani. He came and reached the gates of the city, but the Armenian people within did not consent to hand it over. Rather, they demanded their king Gagik. They united and went in battle against the Byzantine troops, destroying them and making them flee. Then, loading up with the extensive [g41] spoil, they returned to the city. The Byzantine troops returned to their own land while the *paracoemomenus* wintered at Yuxtik', in the district of T'e'odupo'lis [Erzerum]. At that point, when the Armenian troops realized that Gagik would never again come to the East, they all gathered at the tombs of

the Armenian kings where they wept for three days over not having a lord, and they hurled the most severe curses at those who had betrayed Gagik. Then in despair they all wrote to the *paracoemomenus*, summoning him and giving Ani into his hands. With this the kingdom of the Armenians was eliminated. And the lordship of the Bagratunis fell, just as [the fourth century *kat'oghikos*] Nerse's had [prophetically] written.

In the year 494 A.E. [1045] a severe and awful earthquake occurred, causing the color of the luminaries to turn red and darkness to fall on the face of the earth. The greatest churches and buildings collapsed from the earthquake and the city of Eznka completely collapsed. The ground split open and numerous men and women were swallowed up. Their cries could be heard for many days. In this year the troops of the Byzantines went against the city of Dwin where they battled against the foreigners. However [the Byzantines] were defeated there, and the great commander-in-chief (*sparapet*) of the Armenians, Vahram Pahlawuni, was slain in battle together with his son Grigor. Now in the same year three emirs came from Persia with many troops and reached the borders of Mosul. The lord of Mosul came against them with many troops, and a fierce battle [g42] ensued which ended with the Persians [*i.e.* the Saljuqs] being defeated and fleeing to the borders of Handzit. The fugitives headed for their own land, taking along much booty and captives and killing many Christians. They reached the Armenian city of Arche'sh and sent to the Byzantine *catepan* who resided there promising him many goods if he let them pass through and depart in peace. But this man did not agree. Rather, he pridefully went against them in battle and was defeated by them. [The Saljuqs] slaughtered the Byzantine troops and seized the *catepan*, Step'an, whom they took as a captive to the city of Her where he died after being subjected to numerous tortures. In this period Monomachus sent a eunuch named Meliarx against the city of Dwin with many troops. He came during the winter and was unable to take [the city] because of the severity of the rain, and so he returned to his own land. But during the same year, come summer, Meliarx returned to the city of Dwin and besieged it, though he was unable to capture the city. Instead he went around the district looting and then returned home. During the same period Tornices (T'or'nik), a brave and martial man from the city of Adrianopole, gathered up troops from the West and came [g43] against Monomachus in the city of Constantinople. They placed the city in great danger [through a siege] until [the inhabitants] were exhausted and blockaded the city gates with stones. Because they could not face them in battle, they deliberated and then wrote a document to Tornices with false pledges, as is their custom, [vowing] to make Tornices *caesar* [immediately] and, after Monomachus' death, to have him as emperor. Furthermore the patriarch and the princes went out to Tornices and confirmed this oath with pledges. Then there was great peace. They took Tornices into Constantinople where, after a few days, they put out his eyes.

[22] In the year 498 A.E. [1049] during the reign of Monomachus, two military commanders with numerous troops arose at the order of Sultan Tughril [Tughril-Beg, 1055-1063] and came against the land of the Armenians. This occurred because the Byzantines had removed the valiant fighting men of the Armenians and put eunuch military commanders in their places, wanting to keep the Eastern land [protected] by them. As soon as the foreigners learned that the land was lordless, they came and camped against the city called Artsn. They observed that [the city] was unwallled and very full of treasure and people, and they began to war against it. The citizens arose and the two sides waged a fierce battle, since [the inhabitants] had neither help from any source nor a place to flee to. Thus they hoped for death [in battle], were defeated by the huge multitude of the foreigners, and fled. The foreigners attacked the city with their swords and filled the squares up [g44] with corpses, putting everyone to the sword and loading up with treasures of gold and silver. In that city resided a *corepiscopus* named David. When [the Saljuqs] took his treasures, forty camels and eighty oxen [yoked in groups] of six [were required] to cart it out of his home. There were seven hundred magnificent and gorgeous churches in the city of Artsn which the nation of impiety put to the sword, while distinguished women and their children were taken in captivity to the land of Persia. This was the beginning of the destruction of the land of the Armenians. Now when Monomachus heard the evil news of this [event], he sent troops to the East and designated as military commander Grigor Pahlawuni *magistros*, son of Vasak, and Kame'n and the brave Liparit, brother of R'at, to preserve the land from the enemy. The same year

Monomachus wrote to Lord Petros, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, summoning him. [Petros] went gladly, placing on his throne Lord Xach'atur, the son of his sister. He also secretly removed the holy oil (*miwr'on*) during the night and placed it in iron vessels which he buried in the river, so that the church of Armenia not be denied the blessed oil. Then Lord Petros set out for Constantinople with the knights of his House, three hundred soldiers, one hundred and twenty bishops, priests, deacons, *vardapets*, scribes and musicians and two hundred attendants. The city was stirred up and went forth to meet him, gloriously leading him to St. Sophia [g45] where the emperor and the patriarch met him. Then the emperor ordered that he be lodged in a dignified dwelling and given expenses for his needs. [23] On the second day the blessed patriarch, Lord Petros, went into the emperor's presence. The latter arose before [Petros], greeted him and seated him on a golden throne. As soon as Lord Petros arose from the golden chair, Lord Eghise' took it, while the emperor's attendants were unable to stop this. The emperor asked the reason, and they replied: "Oh emperor, henceforth this is the patriarchal throne, and no one else should sit on it." The emperor agreed and allowed [Petros'] attendants to take it, and thereafter, day by day, the blessed patriarch grew in splendor in the midst of the Byzantines. He remained in Constantinople for four years, after which they sent him to the land of the Armenians with great gifts from the emperor and the [Byzantine] patriarch. They also made Lord Petros' sister's son, Lord Step'anne', a *syncellus* and gave expensive gifts to his knights. But Lord Petros was not able to enter Ani; rather, he resided in Sebastia in great glory by the clan of Senek'erim. When the Byzantine military commander, Grigor Magistros, about whom we spoke earlier, and the others reached the East they went to Kaputr'u and descended to Arjovit. There they heard that the forces of Turks were encamped at the edge of the plain. The two sides clashed fiercely [g46]. Liparit valiantly pushed back the troops of the foreigners. But when the Byzantine soldiers observed this they were jealous of him and turned back, leaving him in the midst of the foreigners who seized him and took him to Sultan Tughril in Khorasan. The sultan who had previously learned of [the man's] bravery, freed him with great gifts after two years. [Liparit] then went to Constantinople where Monomachus further exalted him and sent him to his own home. Liparit was the brother of R'at and Zorat of Georgian nationality, and a brave man [g47].

Colophon *Remember in Christ the sinful scribe, Vasil*

History [from the start] of the year 500 A.E. [1051]. Events that occurred [beginning] in that year.

When the year 500 A.E. [1051] had ended, certain impious and slandering men came to Monomachus [to complain] about the Armenian princes dwelling in the district of Paghin, saying that "they are not obedient to your commands and are planning to rebel from you." And [Monomachus] believed [the slanderers] and sent a military commander with troops to Paghin. He vented his wrath upon the innocent and demoted all the princes from their stations, because the military commander, who was named Peroz, was one of the slanderers. He wanted to arrest the sons of Habel—Harpik, a valiant fighting man, and his brothers Dawit, Kostand, and Lewon. Then each of the princes covertly planned to hole up in his own fortress until the emperor was informed about the destruction of the district. But a certain one of the confederates betrayed his oath and informed Peroz, without the sons of Abel knowing about it. Rather, as they had planned, they fortified themselves into the stronghold of Arkni [near Amida], while their other comrades went to Peroz. [24] Peroz massed against the fortress but was unable to take it, since it was very high up [g48]. So he promised great riches to whomever would bring him Harpak's head. There was a spot near the fortress and across from it where Harpik had come forth with his followers and with great efforts was endeavoring to hold the fortress. Out of fear of the enemy he had not slept for three days. His treacherous comrades said to him: "Why not sleep and rest from your labors, for, lo, we will give our lives for your sake." [Harpak] believed them and lay down to take a brief rest. The someone, like unto Cain, cut off Harpak's head and sent it to Peroz during that night, receiving nothing but curses [for the effort]. Peroz ordered that Harpak's head be placed on a pole and displayed in front of the fortress in the morning. When [Harpak's] brothers saw it, they opened the gates, emerged, and threw themselves down before the severed head, weeping bitterly, to the point that the entire army cried along with them. Thus did [the Byzantines] take the fortress of Arkni and the brothers were

sent to Monomachus in Constantinople. The emperor was astonished at their size, since they were taller and more handsome than any of the Byzantines. Thus he in no way punished them, instead he sent them off to some island.

In the year 502 A.E. [1053] great wonders took place in the great [city of] Antioch. For there were many people of Syrian nationality in the city enjoying enormous luxury and their women went about on feast days adorned with golden ornaments; their children, some five hundred of them, were similarly adorned and went to church on feast days riding on donkeys. As a result the Greeks were filled with wicked bitterness and harbored deep resentment against them. Now it happened that one of the most senior of the Syrian princes became entranced by the Byzantines [g49], converted to their doctrine, and began to slander his own people to them, claiming that they lacked the orthodox faith of the catholic church. Thereby he put the Syrian people into grave danger. The Byzantine patriarch joined with such wicked slanders together with his folk and ordered that the Syriac gospels be burned. As soon as they threw them into the fire, a voice was heard issuing from the gospels, which emerged [unharmd] from the fire. A second time they tossed [the books] into the fire, and again they emerged unharmd. When they insolently did this a third time, the gospels burned up.

As soon as this evil deed had been done, the patriarch and the entire mob joyfully entered [the church of] St. Peter. Once they were all assembled together inside the holy church, the church itself thundered out a loud sound, and the entire city trembled. The next day fire fell from the sky onto the church of St. Peter, burning stone and wood as though they were candlewax, and splitting apart the altar and causing the sacramental table to collapse into the chasm, together with the very precious luminous gem and one hundred and fifty thousand pieces of gold with which Constantine had adorned it. And thereafter [people] were unable to find [these treasures]. When this had occurred, the city of Antioch was awestruck and began offering prayers to God. Then the Byzantine patriarch arose with priests and deacons and a great mass of people, and they circulated about the city praying. As soon as [g50] they reached the pavillion of the Romans, where a small bridge was located, suddenly the earth groaned and shook at the sixth hour of the day. Then it split apart and swallowed the patriarch and ten thousand people. For fifteen days their cries could be heard from the depths. Then the earth closed above them and the entire multitude suffocated.

[25] In the year 503 A.E. [1054] Tughril, sultan of the Persians, arose with a countless multitude and came to the city of Berkri in the land of the Armenians. He took it through battle and subjected its inhabitants to the sword and slavery. He then went on to Arche'sh and for eight days harassed the city with warfare. The citizens, offering many gifts, decided to surrender and convinced [Tughril] to go and take Mane"tskerd. [The Saljuqs] camped at a place called K'araglux. The next day [Tughril] surrounded the city and began putting it into straits through battle. The chief of the city was Basil, son of Apukap, a brave and martial man who encouraged everyone to fight. Then the foreigners started to dig through the base of the wall. When the believers learned about this, they also dug opposite them and killed everyone they caught. Enraged, the sultan sent to Baghe'sh and had brought thence a large and very tall catapult [*baban*] which Emperor Basil had constructed out of fifteen segments for [the defence of the city of] Her. When [the Saljuqs] erected it, the city's inhabitants quaked with fear. Then they found a priest [with engineering skills] in the city and built a machine to counter [the catapult]. With the very first rock they damaged the catapult's beak and the residents revived somewhat. But after a few days the foreigners repaired their device and began striking the walls with huge rocks. Then Basil called out to [g51] the [residents of the] city, proclaiming: "If someone goes and burns down that catapult, he will receive from me gold and silver treasures as well as glory and authority from the king. And should that person die, his sons and relations will inherit what I promised him." Then, behold, a Byzantine Frank came forward and said: "I will burn it and spill my blood for the Christians." So they gave him a noble steed, armor, and a helmet, seated him on the horse and tied three bottles of naptha to his body, [also] affixing a letter to the edge of his bomb. Then [the Frank] asked for prayers and headed toward the foreigners. They thought that he was an emissary and did not [intercept him] to make inquiries. It was noontime and very hot and all the fighters were asleep. The Byzantine man approached the catapult, while

[the Saljuqs] believed he was coming to see them. At that moment, he brought forth one of the bottles and hurled it at the catapult. Then, riding about, he threw the second and the third [bottles]. The catapult burst into flames, while the man turned in flight, pursued by the entire multitude [of Saljuqs]. The man escaped and fled into the city, while the catapult burned. The faithful were delighted and gave many valuables to the man. When Monomachus learned about this, he had the man brought to Constantinople and gave him gifts and an honored position. Meanwhile the sultan also was dumbfounded at the Frank's deed and asked Basil if he could see him, promising gifts. But he did not want this. So they began digging under the walls while the city's residents dug opposite them, dragging and slaying [the Saljuqs] with an iron claw. Then they took a pig, put it on a machine, and hurled it into the [Saljuq] camp, shouting out to the sultan: "Marry this one, and we will give you Mane"tskert as a dowry." Mortified [g52], [Tughril] killed the man who had brought them against the city, and he returned to his own land.

[26] In the year 504 A.E. [1055] Monomachus died after reigning as emperor for fourteen years. His sister-in-law, Theodora [1055-1056], ruled in his place. She ordered that peace be made throughout all lands. She retrieved the sons of Habel from exile and returned them to their patrimony in honor, to the fortress of Arkni. She also removed the *catepan* Peroz from power and established in his place Melissenus (Melesan), a merciful and good man. She herself ruled for two years and three months, and then was translated to Christ. Michael the Elder then occupied the throne [Michael VI, Stratioticus, 1056-57]. During his day a certain prince from the Byzantine House of Comnenus arose against Michael and came with troops against Constantinople, seeking to become emperor by force. Michael assembled all the Western forces and went against Comnenus. However Michael's forces were defeated and put to flight during a great slaughter. All of Michael's princes were seized. The remainder, seeing such a bloodletting, accepted Comnenus. So the patriarch and all the princes took and seated Comnenus on the imperial throne. But there was great devastation before Comnenus was confirmed, since he and Michael between them had mercilessly laid waste the land [g53]. Comnenus greatly honored those who had gone along with him, and ordered that coins be struck having his image with a sword drawn to indicate that he had taken the empire by the sword. He did not increase the bloodletting [in the East], rather he went to the West, crossing the Danube where he wrecked the land of the Christians. For this a fitting anger was visited upon him from the Lord with thunder, lightning, and very large pieces of hail, which caused all [his troops] to flee. Those who lost their way were unable to find each other. The emperor with three men strayed and reached the Danube River where they realized that this vengeance came from God because of [Comnenus'] evil deeds. Arriving in Constantinople, [Comnenus] prostrated himself before God's mercy with many regrets, seeking forgiveness. He sent to Dukas, the duke of Edessa, had him brought [to Constantinople], and then seated him on the throne, while he himself became a cleric. The same year, which was 507 A.E. [1058], the blessed patriarch, Lord Petros, was translated to Christ. He had held the patriarchate for forty-two years [1019-1058], and had enthroned [as a successor] Lord Xach'ik [Xach'ik II Anets'i, 1058-1065]. [27] [Petros] himself was buried in the monastery of the Holy Cross in Sebastia. In the same year a Persian emir named Dinar arose with many troops and peacefully and harmlessly passed through numerous localities until he reached Melitene of the Armenians, since [the Saljuqs] had long since been informed by many [scouts] that it was extremely rich [g54] [and ripe] for looting. The city was unprepared and had neither fighting forces nor a place to flee to for refuge. Yet one and all took to flight, with the foreigners pursuing and mercilessly cutting them down, until the city was filled up with the blood of the slain. Attractive women and children were taken into captivity and [the Saljuqs] happily returned [to their camp]. Because it was winter they stayed in the district of Hantsit'. When spring arrived they went to the district of Taro'n and camped by the base of the mountain, close to Sasunk'. When T'or'nik, son of Mushegh, the valiant warrior of the Armenians saw this, he went against the foreigners with his troops and the two sides engaged in battle. Valiant T'or'nik raised his eyes On High and said: "Come to our aid, Saint Karapet [John the Baptist] of Glak monastery." Then he immediately attacked and mowed through them as though they were sheaves [for harvesting]. He put [the Saljuqs] to flight, then brave T'or'nik and his troops took the goods and captives and returned to their village, thanking God and Saint Karapet. During the winter of the same year snow fell for sixty days, falling at night and melting during the day. The water was red and

bitter-tasting. There was severe famine for the wild animals and birds since they could not find food. Out of hunger they turned to the cultivated places, and the people mercilessly devoured them. [Some] merciful folk fed them during the winter and then released them when spring came. A certain emir named Nasir-ad-Daulah (Nsrt'ol), the lord of Nisibis, ordered his servants on a daily basis to spread forty *k'or* of wheat, forty *k'or* of barley, forty *k'or* of millet and other types of feed on the plain, so that the wild animals and birds might come and eat it [g55], and he ordered that none of them be killed. [He further ordered that] everyone, according to ability, should care for them. That year a severe famine occurred because, due to the snow, there had been no sowing.

In the year 508 A.E. [1059] the entire House of Persia was on the move. Boasting, they came against the Armenians, subjecting many districts to the sword and to captivity and reaching Sebastia. Now Atom and Abusahl, the sons of Senak'erim [Artsruni], had learned of the coming of the infidels in advance and had fled to Xawatane'k'. At first the forces of the infidels did not dare to enter the city since, seeing the domes of the churches, they thought that they were the tents of the Byzantine troops. But when they learned that the city was devoid of defenders, they surrounded it and attacked it with their swords, cutting down everyone they encountered, then leading away countless people into captivity. [28] This was the result of [Armenia] being without its leaders and also due to the wicked actions of the Byzantines, since they had removed Armenians from the leadership of the country of Armenia, treacherously killed the valiant Armenian warriors, and installed eunuchs as leaders and officials in the land who had no enthusiasm for deeds of valor and blinded the eyes of brave Armenian and Byzantine soldiers. Weak and prone to flight, they eventually fled to Constantinople, since in one year [the Saljuqs] had taken the entire land from them. In this period [Emperor] Ducas thought to remove the patriarchate from Armenia [g56]. And, in fact, they did this. For following the death of Lord Petros, they took Lord Xach'ik to Constantinople with the bishops and kept them in confinement for three months. [Ducas] demanded that [they hand over] the treasures of Lord Petros and, employing all efforts, he wanted to turn the Armenians to Chalcedonianism. At that point King Gagik and the sons of Senak'erim, Atom and Apusahl, and the princes of the Armenians with great labor were able to release them and locate the patriarchal throne at T'awblur, close to Kokist, where it remained for three years.

In 511 A.E. [1062] Persian military commanders came from Sultan Tughril with many troops, reaching the district of Balin and T'llxum and Arkni. They wrought incalculable slaughter and took much booty. There Kristap'or, a priest of God, with his two sons went into the church and gave communion to the entire populace. Exiting [the church] they met their ends and became martyrs. The emir who resided in Amida wrote to the Persian military commander and made friendship with him, seeking to buy the captives of his district and he urged his entire principality to purchase captives and free them, for he was a merciful man. He himself freed many [captives]. Now as soon as this evil news reached Emperor Ducas, he ordered a huge assembly [of troops], designating the great prince Francopoulos (Fr'angapol) as their military commander, and then sent them to the district of T'llxum to exact vengeance on the Persian nation. The duke of Edessa, Dawatanos, also came and joined the emperor's forces. When they arrived there and observed the multitude of the slain, they wept bitterly. Then they attacked the Tachiks but [the latter] had heard about [these plans] and fled [g57] to the land of Persia. Then Dawatanos attacked the city of Amida. When the residents of the city heard about the coming of the Byzantines they sent 10,000 *dahekans* to Francopoulos. When they reached the city gates, the entire force of the foreigners emerged to battle. Francopoulos fought Dawatanos; then, idly going to one side, he quit the battle with 60,000 horsemen. Now a certain brave chief of the foreigners' troops broke through and began slaying the Christian forces. When Dawatanos saw this, he turned his horse about and killed that brave man with his sword. Dawatanos himself was killed there. When Francopoulos heard about this, he attacked and destroyed the foreigners' troops, then turned back triumphantly. Now a certain Armenian named Yohnuk assembled 5000 infantry and, reaching the district of T'llxum, brought grief to the Kurds and Tachiks. Then he came again to Sewerakk' with great spoil and captives. A Tachik chief, Shahashdak, caught up with Yohnuk who then left his troops and fled. Taking their booty, they turned back. Francopoulos went to T'e'odupo'lis, encountered and destroyed them, and captured their loot. He destroyed

nomadic ("tented") Turks wherever he came upon them, taking their goods. When Ducas heard about Dawatanos' death he summoned Frankopoulos, tied a stone around his neck, and threw him into the sea. This was because of [Frankopoulos'] treacherous deed of standing aside and not aiding Dawatanos, who [therefore] perished [g58].

[29] In the year 513 A.E. [1064] Sultan Alp-Arslan [1063-1072] came against the city of Ani with many troops and invested it on all sides. The citizens arose against them in battle, but the infidels with their multitude triumphed and turned them back, confining them in the city. In the waiting for [further] warfare, [the citizens] broke down, not having hope for aid from any quarter except in their prayers to God for help. The city was filled with numerous mobs. [The Saljuqs] demolished [part of] the city wall with rock-hurling devices, though they were unable to enter the city, and therefore planned to turn back. However, the princes who had been designated to defend the city, *paron* Smbat, Bagarat's father, and *paron* Grigor, Bakuran's son, started to fortify themselves into the citadel as the sultan and his troops wanted to depart. Now when the princes had secured themselves, the citizens' [unity] broke, and everyone turned to flight. The chiefs of the city fell upon the ground of the kings, bitterly weeping over their lordless condition. When the infidels learned about this they turned back, entered the city, and, like wild beasts, began to slay everyone with the sword. They took women and children captive, and loaded up with booty. They threw down the great cross which was on the dome [of the cathedral], as well as the crystal chandelier which was in the church, shattering it into many pieces. This was the same [chandelier] which Smbat the Conqueror had brought [from India] which cost ten thousand pieces of gold and weighed twelve thousand *litrs*. As soon as they threw down the cross, there was rain and thunder and the corpses of the slain washed into the river and the splendid city was cleansed of the blood. But the sultan was very regretful about the broken chandelier. As for the cross, they took it to Naxjawan and put it [g59] under the threshold of the mosque, so that everyone entering or exiting would step on it. At that time King Gagik was at Kars. The sultan sent for him to come in submission. Gagik was a wise and clever man, and thought to peacefully escape from him. So he donned mourning clothes and sat upon a black cushion. When the envoy [of Alp-Arslan] saw him thus outfitted in black, he asked the king why he was so arrayed. And [Gagik] replied: "When my friend Sultan Tughril, the brother of Alp-Arslan, died, I put on mourning clothes." The astonished man went and related this to the sultan, who was astounded and arose with his entire army and went to Kars to see Gagik. He made peace with him and clothed him in royal garments. Gagik prepared a great feast for the sultan and his troops. In so doing, Gagik peacefully got free of him; and in a few days he gave Kars to the Byzantines [in exchange for which the Byzantines] gave him Tsamndaw, Caesarea and Xawatane'k'. And thus was the House of the Armenians overturned.

[30] In the year 514 [1065] a people in the West, [the Turkic Uzes] made war on the Byzantine emperor Ducas. The latter assembled numerous troops and sent them against [the Uzes], designating Apuk'ap's son, Basil, as the military commander. They went and encamped on the banks of the Danube River. In a fierce battle against each other, the Byzantines were defeated and turned to flight, while [the Uzes] gathered up all their belongings and seized Basil, leading him [g60] into captivity. Subsequently three men absconded with Basil and took him to Ducas in Constantinople, receiving numerous rewards [for the deed]. During the same year the blessed patriarch, lord Xach'ik, was translated to Christ having reigned as patriarch for six years in exile in a foreign country. For the Byzantine nation made him endure much tribulation, to the point that they put him into a fire, and when he was not harmed due to his holiness, they considered that this [feat] had been achieved through sorcery. And so, for a long time, he lived in exile, he whose predecessor had been so richly endowed that he had 700 bishops and 700 villages and many *vardapets*, musicians, and attendants. But once sovereignty had been removed from the Armenians, the *kat'oghikos* also became impoverished. [The Byzantines] wanted to do away with the patriarchate of the Armenians completely, and for seven years the Armenians were held in their faith until King Gagik, with enormous efforts and huge expenses, was able to obstruct this. He received a command to have whomever they chose as patriarch again. Then King Gagik and the remaining princes of the Armenians looked to find a worthy [candidate]. They selected Vahram from the

Pahlawuni clan, son of Grigor Magistros, son of the *sparapet* [commander-in-chief] of the Armenians, Vasak Pahlawuni. [Vahram] had married, in accordance with wordly custom, [but subsequently] he became a monk, learned in the wisdom of the Old and New Testaments, and was familiar with the study of sacred literature from his childhood on. It was [Vahram] whom they made *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, by the general will of the entire assembly and of everyone. And they named him [g61] Grigoris [I *Vkayase'r*, 1066-1105] after his ancestor, Saint Gregory. [Grigoris] made the churches of the Armenians resplendent and dispelled the thick gloom which had enveloped the Armenian people. He translated into Armenian from Greek and Syriac numerous sermons, lives of the saints, and histories of the martyrs, and so loved the saints that he was called *Vkayase'r* [Lover of Saints]. He went about on foot and preached like Christ's apostles, and thus was he a good shepherd throughout all the days of his life. In the same year a certain prince of the Persians [named] Salar Xorasan assembled a great multitude [of troops] and came to the district of Edessa. [31] A small force emerged from the city [to fight] against them and were able to put them to flight. However as the infidels' numbers increased [the Edessans] themselves were put to flight, and the foreigners took the entire country as booty and put them to the sword. Now at that time the duke of the city of Antioch, Pext, happened to be in Edessa. He was a brave man of Armenian nationality and he took his troops and went out to fight. Peghunit [Nicetas Pegonites], the duke of Edessa, brought out his *proximus*, gave him his troops, and instructed him to betray Pext so that he would be destroyed and not have the name of triumph. Thus when Pext wanted to fall upon the troops of the foreigners at night—and this [plan] was a secret—that malicious *proximus* (who was named Vard) unable to prevent him [g62] from approaching the foreigners, had the war trumpets sounded at once. The troops of the foreigners, who were at ease, heard the sound of the trumpets and got dressed. Meanwhile Pext attacked, killed many [Saljuqs], and put everyone to flight. As soon as the trumpets had sounded, the *proximus* and his troops went off to one side and did not aid Pext. Upon learning about this, Pext said: "Oh you apostates, here once again you have displayed your treachery." He returned to Edessa and then went to Antioch where he informed the emperor about all of this in writing. The *proximus* was taken to Ducas in Constantinople where he was flayed alive. His skin was stuffed [with grass] and the body was sent to Edessa. Pext was greatly rewarded, while Pegonites was removed from Edessa and deposed. Salar Xorasan killed many people at the gates of Edessa, then returned to Persia with great spoil. In this period Emperor Ducas, the patriarch, and all the clerics unanimously wanted to eliminate the [clerical] ranks and traditions of the Armenian church. They sent to Sebastia and summoned to Constantinople Atom and Apusahl, Senek'erim's sons. Realizing what was afoot, they took along the *vardapet* Yakovbos K'arap'nets'i. When they arrived, at first the emperor treated them with respect, but gradually, little by little, he revealed his intentions [g63]. He declared: "It is our imperial command that all the Armenian princes receive Byzantine baptism." Doubting [what to do], they replied to the emperor: "Without Ashot's son, Gagik, we cannot reply; for he is a valiant man, and king, and our brother-in-law. Send and summon him, since if we do that [which you proposed] without him, he will burn us and our clans with fire." However Ducas did not want to do this. Nonetheless Atom and Apusahl secretly sent and informed Gagik. Meanwhile Emperor Ducas held an examination [of doctrine] with *vardapet* Yakovb and received numerous responses from him. Yet on the question of the Two Natures, [Yakovb] tilted slightly toward the Byzantine [conception]. As everything he said pleased the emperor, the latter ordered him to write a document of [doctrinal] unity between the Armenians and the Byzantines on that basis. He had this document placed in [the cathedral of] St. Sophia as if [to indicate] that, behold, from this time forth, the Armenians and Byzantines had become united. At the same time, soaring like an eagle, Gagik arrived, which made the emperor extremely happy. [32] [The emperor] brought forth the document of unity between the Armenians and the Byzantines which Gagik read then tore up and threw on the ground in the emperor's presence. Ducas was greatly embarrassed by this. Then Gagik said to Ducas: "Oh emperor, there are many men like this [Yakovb] in the land of the Armenians, and we do not accept them as accomplished *vardapets*." And Gagik upbraided that *vardapet* Yakobos with many words, saying: "How could you dare speak with such boldness regarding all the Armenians?" And to the emperor he said: "Oh [g64] king, acknowledge that I am a son of the kings of the Armenians, and a king over the Armenian people, and that all the Armenians are obedient to me. [Understand] that I am versed in all the Biblical testaments. Today I will speak with the Byzantine wise men about the orthodox faith of the Armenian

people." Taking paper, Gagik wrote in his own hand concerning the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, about Christ's corporealization according to the doctrine of the holy Fathers, and about the ranks of the church, about the mystery of the life-giving mass, having as support the holy Fathers based on the testimony of blessed Scripture. He also anathematized all the wicked ranks of heretics who made bold to say wicked words about the holy Trinity and the saving administration of Christ. He wrote about all these topics very extensively and spoke before the emperor and all the Byzantine rhetoricians. He satisfied and convinced all of them. Then they made friendship and peace with [Gagik] the son of the kings of Armenia, and Ducas gave gifts to Gagik and to the sons of Senek'erim, and to all their princes. The name of Gagik was glorified among all the *vardapets* of the House of the Armenians. In this period the eloquent and blessed *vardapet* Grigorios Narekats'i shone forth with wisdom. Then Gagik left the emperor's presence with great glory but wrathfully, and as he travelled along he had the glorious [Byzantine noble]women and their daughters disgraced, and he ravished their treasures. He had resolved never to return to Constantinople nor to respond to any Byzantine summons. He thought to go to Alp-Arslan, sultan of Persia, and to rule from the throne of his kingdom, since [the sultan] had called him many [g65] times. It was due to his Christian faith that he had not done so. In Caesarea there was a metropolitan named Markos, very renowned and very rich in all luxury goods. He was a defamer of the Armenians and loathed them to the point that he had named his dog Arme'n, and referred to all dogs as "Arme'n." Gagik had been informed about all of [Markos'] evil [activities] and was waiting for an opportune time to repay his evil with evil. When they arrived in Caesarea, they took lodging in the home of Markos. Markos came before them unwillingly. When they had dined and were making merry in drink, Gagik said to Markos: "I have heard that you have an enormous dog, and I would like to see it." So Markos [summoning the dog] called out: "Arme'n, Arme'n." Then Gagik inquired: "Your dog is named Arme'n?" Markos replied: "We call him Arme'n because of his great strength." Gagik signalled his attendants who seized the dog. [33] Then he ordered that a sack be brought. When Markos saw this he became angry, thinking that they wanted to take the dog away from him. [Gagik] ordered that Markos also be seized and that the dog and Markos be put into the sack. Then he ordered the dog beaten, and the dog devoured Markos. Thus did Markos die. His home was subjected to looting, and they left with the booty. Gagik made bold to do this among the Byzantines, but he never returned to Constantinople nor did he answer their summons. This was the period of Gagik, son of Abas of Kars, a wise man full of all genius, versed in the Old and New Testaments. [It was also the period] of the prominent prince Atrnerseh in the district of Bagrewand, a man forceful in learning and a powerful orator. Now during the days of this Gagik [g66] Shahnshah, king of the Armenians, a wonderous sign regarding the holy mass took place in the monastery named Pizu which Gagik, king of the Armenians, had built. On the day of the blessed Pentacost, a piece of the holy host had fallen [to the floor]. During the night two clerics saw visions: one [cleric had a vision in which he] saw that the chandelier had fallen, but [its light] was not extinguished, while the other saw a radiantly shining star illuminating the church. The abbot of the monastery heard about this and ordered that they take candles and go to investigate. They discovered that piece of the holy host which had fallen to the floor. Picking it up with awe and trembling, they gave thanks to God Who alone had worked this miracle.

In the year 515 A.E. [1066] a comet appeared in the eastern part [of the sky] and moved westward. After being visible for one month, it disappeared, but after many days it reappeared in the west. In this period an impious emir from Persia, named O'shin, came and polluted all the districts [of the Armenians]. Coming close to Black Mountain he wrought unbelievable destruction in that district, putting to the sword numerous monks, and solitary ascetics, setting on fire all the districts and killing everyone. And then anger piled upon anger, because a Persian emir named Gumushtikin (Gomshtikin) who was part of Alp-Arslan's court came to Amida with numerous troops and annihilated those who had survived [g67] the previous wrath, and [the Saljuqs] turned many districts into uninhabited places. [Gumushtikin] came to the district of Edessa and besieged Nisibis, fighting some days against [the city] but was unable to take it. So he crossed the Euphrates and attacked the district of Hisn-Mansur (Harsnmsr), putting the entire population to the sword. Now a certain prince who was in the fortress of Nisibis, sent to Edessa alerting the duke of Edessa, called Arvandanos, [to the fact that] Gumushtikin was encamped by the banks of the river with few men [and urging Arvandanos] to

come against him and arrest him. However, Arvandanos did not come quickly, and so while he was coming Gumushtikin learned about it and sent to Hisn-Mansur and brought his forces. Arvandanos reached the fortress of O'shin with 1,500 horsemen and 20,000 infantry. When the two sides clashed in battle, Arvandanos hurled himself upon them like a lion, for he was a valiant fighting man. The area was narrow and difficult. The Turks began to increase. [34] At this Arvandanos said: "Let's elude the Turks and turn back a bit. We will draw them after us and when we turn back on them they will be unable to flee." However other soldiers of Arvandanos' force, who were Byzantines, did not agree with this plan. They left Arvandanos and fled. On that day there was a great slaughter and wrath upon the believers, for the number of slain was 11,000, while Arvandanos and other princes were seized and taken captive. [Others] who escaped by a hairsbreadth fled into O'shin fortress. The impious emir [Gumushtikin] placed a yoke on Arvandanos' neck and led him into captivity. He brought him to the city [g68] of Edessa and sold him for 40,000 *dahekans*. As a guarantee of payment for 20,000 *dahegans*, [Gumushtikin] took [Arvandanos'] son hostage, where he remained in Persia. They sold other princes as well, and then Gumushtikin returned to Persia with a great deal of booty. He presented to the sultan many slaves, some 2,000 boys and girls.

In the year 516 A.E. [1067] Emperor Ducas died. His son Michael was still a small boy, and so the imperial throne lacked an emperor for a year. The empress, who was named Eudocia (Ewdok'sia) [Eudocia Macrembolitissa, regent 1067-1068], and who had ruled the empire for a year secretly had a certain prince, named Diogenes (Dio'zhe'n), brought [to Constantinople]. She married him and kept him in her chamber. Then she summoned the *caesar* who was Ducas' brother, and trying [to probe] him, said: "What shall we do? The imperial throne is unoccupied, and Michael is still a child." On these pretexts she wanted to ruin him. The *caesar* replied to the empress: "What concern of mine is that, since I and my sons are your servants? Give the empire to whomever you choose." The empress, who was astonished by his wisdom, said: "Go into that chamber and prostrate yourself before the [new] emperor. He went into the room and prostrated himself, and thanked God that he had not opposed her. They quickly took Diogenes [Romanus IV Diogenes, 1068-1071] to St. Sophia and the entire people anointed him emperor. During this period the blessed patriarch, the son of Gregory Magistros, wanted to step down from the [duties of the] patriarchate to enjoy monastic life, just as his ancestor the great Gregory the Illuminator had done [g69] after so many tribulations. His secretary Ge'org also shared this desire and was to accompany him. Everyone heard about this, and King Gagik and the princes of the Armenians [tried to] stop him. But he did not want to listen to them. So they ordained *vardapet* Ge'org [as *kat'oghikos*] at [Gagik's] order. Lord Grigoris was astounded by this, but unwillingly he ordained him, and then went off to pray with the monastics in a retreat. In the same year Emperor Diogenes assembled all the Western lands and came with numerous troops to the district of the Tachiks. He besieged Manbij (Mnpe'ch) with many machines and demolished a part of its wall. The terrified inhabitants of the city made cross-like objects out of any material [available] and, taking them in hand, went out to the emperor. Now the emperor had mercy on them, designated a general over them with cavalry, made them tributary, [and then he] departed quickly for Constantinople, since the empress had called for him. In the same year a young emir of the clan of Sultan Alp-Arslan arose and wanted to secretly rebel from the Persians and go to Constantinople. He reached Sebastia with numerous troops. The *curopalate* came from Constantinople to fight him, and they clashed in battle with each other [g70] near Sebastia. The Byzantines were defeated and fled. The next day the Turks turned upon them again in battle, expelled them and made them fugitives, capturing the *curopalate* himself. The Byzantine troops, blinded by the dust, fled to a rocky place called Makriti (Makr'it), and fell [over the cliffs] to their deaths. After a few days the king of the Armenians and the princes made friendship and an alliance with the young emir. He took the *curopalate* and other captives, some 3,000 men, and secretly reached Constantinople. The emperor received him with great honor since he was a benevolent person.

[35] In the year 519 A.E. [1070] a comet appeared in the heavens. Observing it, many said that it was the same omen that had appeared previously and had been followed by bloodshed. Once again it appeared in the night and it seemed as though all the stars were streaming to the earth. [People] thought that it was the command of the Lord that the end of the world [would be accompanied by portents which] involved the sun,

moon and stars. That same year Sultan Alp-Arslan moved forth with many troops and reached Mantskert. And since [the city] had no protector, [the Saljuqs] took it in one day and slaughtered everyone for the earlier insult done [by the inhabitants] to his brother, Sultan Tughril. Leaving there, he came to Amida and encamped before its gates, peacefully. His wife bore him a son in the camp [g71], whom he named Tutush (Ddush). He left [Amida] and came to the district of T'lxum where he besieged [its fortress], putting it into great straits. He fought against it with every strategem, but was unable to take the fortress of T'lxum for many days. So first he spoke affectionately [to the inhabitants, saying] that he [merely] wanted taxes. Thus the inhabitants relaxed and were negligent and left the walls unguarded. When the troops of the foreigners saw their unpreparedness, the entire army went against [the city], against the sultan's wishes, and enveloped it in fierce warfare. They took the city and wrought much slaughter and took many captives. When the sultan heard about this, he was surprised and regretted the killings, since he had made an oath with [the residents]. Then the sultan arose from there with his innumerable multitude and came to the district of Edessa, subjecting the entire land to looting, right up to the city gates. His troops attacked the renowned fortress called T'lt'ovraw near Sewerak, and after a fierce battle they took the fortress[es] of T'lt'ovraw and Ar'iwsat'il, making a frightful slaughter and filling all its borders with blood. Then with much booty and captives, he went against the city of Edessa, completely surrounding it, and encamping everywhere [near the city]. This was during the winter, on the tenth day of the month of Marer, when the duke of the city of Edessa was Basil, son of Alusianus (Alo'sian) the Bulghar king. When the citizens saw the incalculable host of the foreigners' troops, all the multitude of the believers in the city of Edessa were terrified, since the multitude of the sultan's troops covered the plains and the peaks of mountains. [36] The city trembled from the evil breath of the dragon and from that foul beast, for [the sultan] was a bloodthirsty man. [The Saljuqs] waited for eight days without fighting, while the city remained crazed and unprepared. Then one of the sultan's soldiers saw the carelessness of the citizens and contacted them [g72] secretly, saying: "Why are you acting like madmen? Strengthen your wall and saddle your horses!" Hearing this, they quickly began to strengthen the wall and fortified it with all security, and every man encouraged his fellow to war. Basil was the duke of the city, a valiant fighting man who began to fortify the entire city. When the sultan saw this he became enraged, ordered the war trumpets to sound, and ferociously turned to battle. Thus all the troops of the foreigners were stirred up, and completely surrounded the entire city of Edessa. That day a great and horrific battle occurred and the entire city filled up with arrows, while the ranks of the believers wept and lamented in prayers to God to free them from the wicked beast. The entire army of the House of Persia spent most of that day warring against Edessa, but they were unable to accomplish anything since the Lord had vanquished and disgraced them. After this [the sultan] erected catapults and other war machines and cut down all the [adjacent] gardens and vineyards using [this material] to fill in the city's moat. He also erected a wooden tower on ten carts to take the city of Edessa. But as soon as they moved the carts close to wall, suddenly the wooden tower collapsed. Meanwhile [the residents] had dug [a tunnel] beneath the river and emerged into the moat on the eastern side where they gathered up all the wood and took it back into the city, burning the remainder. Then the foreigners also began to dig seven tunnels under the moat to wreck the wall. But then the citizens dug opposite [the Saljuqs], capturing and killing the foreigners. The Lord strengthened the city against the foreigners. The sultan remained making ferocious battle against Edessa for fifty days, but was unable to accomplish anything. The sultan promised to give treasure and authority to whomever could remove a rock from [g73] the wall, so that he could take it back to Persia as a souvenir. Apusuar, the emir of Dwin, said to him: "Nearby is the altar of a church which no one has attacked." They tried but were unable to remove [a single] rock from the altar [of the church] of St. Sargis which stood to the east [of the city]. When the sultan saw this, he was mortified. Then Xore'sh, the senior emir of the Arabs, took the sultan and his troops and went against Aleppo, and the Edessans rejoiced. When Emperor Diogenes heard the news of this calamity, he roared like a lion and assembled all the Western troops: Bulghars, Patsinaks, Cappadocians, Bithynians, Cilicians, [and men from] Trapezond, Antioch and many other places. The next year 520 A.E. [1071] Diogenes came to Sebastia with an astonishingly large host, and Atom and Apusahl, sons of [the] kings [of Vaspurakan], came out before him. At that point the Byzantines began to slander the Armenian people and the residents of Sebastia in front of Emperor Diogenes, saying: "When Emir Ktrich attacked us, the Armenians slaughtered us more than the Turks did." And the

emperor believed these lying words, claiming that when he returned [from fighting in] Persia, he would eliminate the Armenian people. [37] He then gave the city [of Sebastia] over to his troops for looting, and many died during this pillaging. [Diogenes] expelled the sons of the kings of the Armenians from his presence, and brought great mourning upon the city of Sebastia and all the Armenian people. Then King Gagik and the grandees of the city and Emir Ktrich, who [g74] had seized the *curopalate*, said to the emperor: "Don't listen to the lies of your own people. Those who have survived the war escaped through their aid." When the emperor heard this he made peace, but he still threatened to eliminate the Armenians. When all the [Armenian] monastics heard about this they invoked grievous curses upon him, as though [he were] Julian [the Apostate] so that he would not manage to return [from Persia]. Then Diogenes arose and went to Mantskert in the land of the Armenians and took it. He made fugitives of the troops of the sultan who were there, and slaughtered those he came upon. Now the sultan who had gone against [Aleppo] had managed to pierce the wall of Aleppo by hurling rocks at it, but was unable to accomplish anything [else]. When he heard about the coming of Diogenes to the East, he [started to go] back to his own land. He arrived at Edessa, where the duke [of that city] provided him with supplies. Taking these, [Alp-Arslan] went peacefully to Mt. Lesun, though in his haste to depart many of his horses perished. At this point a letter arrived for him from [Byzantine troops who were] traitors to Diogenes, asking: "Why are you fleeing? Most of the troops are on your side." When the sultan heard this he halted and sent to Diogenes requesting that they establish peace and harmony with each other. But the proud Diogenes did not agree. Quite the contrary, he became even more boastful. The traitors came to him and said: "Oh Emperor, there is no one who can withstand you. Yet your troops are now bothered by lack of victuals. Release them, brigade by brigade, so that they can survive [by foraging] until the battle begins." [Diogenes] heeded the wicked advice and sent Emir Ktrich [g75] to Constantinople, while he dispatched Tarxaniat with 30,000 men to go against Xlat', and sent 10,000 [troops] to Abkhazia. So, by such treachery, all his troops were scattered. The sultan was informed about all this and prepared his troops to battle against [Diogenes]. When Diogenes heard about this he organized his [remaining] troops and designated as their military commanders Xatap and Vasilak, valiant princes of the Armenians, and the battle began. In the ferocious combat which ensued, Xatap and Vasilak were killed, and the defeated Byzantine troops took to flight. Seeing this, Diogenes ordered all his troops to assemble, but no one heeded his summons, since those who had left him had already gone to Constantinople. And then Diogenes understood the treachery of his own people. The next day they prepared to battle at a place called Toghutap', close to Mantskert. Diogenes arranged the [Turkic] Uz and Pecheneg troops on his right and left flanks and arranged other troops in front and behind him. But once the battle had been joined, the Uz and Pecheneg troops passed to the sultan's side, and there was a frightful destruction of the Byzantine troops. [38] [The Saljuqs] also seized the emperor and numerous princes and led them before the sultan in fetters, and they loaded up with their spoil. But the sultan displayed affection and made an oath [of peace] between Persia and Byzantium, making the sultan and the emperor blood-brothers. Then he freed [g76] the emperor to return to his own land. [Diogenes] reached Sebastia where he heard that Ducas' son, Michael, had become emperor. At this, [some of] his troops fled while the remainder turned upon him. In terror [Diogenes] donned a monk's garb and went to see the military commander, who was Ducas' brother. He said: "Lo, I have become a cleric and will reside with the monks. Let Michael be your emperor, and may the Lord be with him." But Diogenes' impious people godlessly blinded him. When the sultan heard about this he wept and regretted it, and realized that God was not with that people. "Hereafter," he reasoned, "I will nullify that agreement which I made with them, and I will put all the Christians to the sword, showing them no mercy." Then again Sultan Alp-Arslan mustered troops and entered the land of Samarkand (Smrghnd), encamping near the fortress called Hama. The lord of the fortress [g77] was a brave, courageous man of Gut' nationality, but he had a cruel nature. The sultan summoned him to come forth in submission, but [the lord of Hama] requested patience for three days, after which he would do the sultan's bidding. For three days he ate and drank with his sons and wife in great joy, [accompanied by] minstrels and songs. At the end of the third day he arose in the night and killed his wife and sons with his own hand. Then he went to the sultan, having concealed a knife in his cloak. When he came near the sultan, he prostrated himself, then took out the knife and attacked him, striking him in three places. The sultan's attendants slew him at once, but the sultan died after five days [after] putting his son

Malik-Shah (Melek'shah) in his office. Malik-Shah [1072-1092] was a good man, and kindly toward the Christians. He went to [sit on] the throne of his patrimony and made peace with the land of the Armenians.

In the year 521 A.E. [1072] an assembly was convened to end the conflict between the patriarchs of the Armenians, Lord Grigoris *Vkayase'r* and Lord Ge'org. Lord Grigoris had sent and taken the veil from the head of Lord Ge'org and deposed him from the throne of the *kat'oghikosate*. Hurt by this, Lord Ge'org went to Tarsus in Cilicia, to Gagik, son of Gurge'n, where he died and was buried by the gate of [the church of] the blessed Mother of God in that city. In the same year the impious prince Philaretus (Filar'tos) forcefully appeared, and began to war with [g78] the believers in Christ. For he was not confirmed in the true faith, neither Armenian nor Byzantine. He was of Armenian nationality and from the district of Hisn-Mansur where he grew up in a monastery [under the care of] a coarse monk. When he left the retreat [Philaretus] ruled over many fortresses and districts, and mercilessly ruined numerous princes. He came and encamped at Mshar and sent to T'or'nik, the lord of Sasun, summoning him to come to him in submission. [39] When T'or'nik, the son of Mushegh, heard about this he laughed at his stupidity and said: "Let me not see his filthy face." [Philaretus'] envoys replied: "If you do not come, he will come against you with many troops and ruin your district." T'or'nik responded: "I only have 1000 cavalymen, but they do not resemble the cavalymen of that impious [Philaretus], rather my forces are always taking communion. I will fight using them." As soon as [g79] Philaretus heard this he summoned the blessed patriarch Lord Grigoris *Vkayase'r* and said: "Go and summon your son-in-law, T'or'nik, so that he comes to me obediently. That blessed man of God, out of fear of the impious [Philaretus], went and related the reasons for his visit. T'or'nik was astonished at the insolence of that loathesome [Philaretus], that he was not ashamed to send as an envoy to him such a blessed man of God. As for [Lord Grigoris] he never returned [to Philaretus]. When the impious Philaretus confirmed that T'or'nik would not be responding to his summons, he went against T'or'nik with many troops. T'or'nik assembled 6000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry and descended to Chape"ghjur. Subsequently he sent back the infantry and went to Ashmushat with the others, since he did not believe that the impious [Philaretus] would in fact come. [The two sides] encountered one another in the plain of Aleluats'. There was a Frank count with 800 horsemen accompanying Philaretus. When T'or'nik saw them, he was sorry that he had sent back the infantry. But he commenced fighting and God aided T'or'nik. They seized the count and killed his troops and made Philaretus flee in disgrace to Kharberd (Xartberd). That same year T'or'nik came to a certain fortress called Ashmushat with few troops and [g80] unexpectedly, at Philaretus' command, a certain emir named Amr-P'ak'r (Amirfafr) came against him. [He came] not in battle, but instead treacherously started to establish friendship with him through deceptive oaths. Through many gifts he won over T'or'nik's servants and with three of them was able to trick T'or'nik into a false alliance. While they were drinking, the emir ran and flung himself like a beast on T'or'nik in order to kill him. Now T'or'nik had only a small dagger with him, and used it to slit the emir's stomach. He grabbed and cracked together the heads of the other [traitors] present there. In this way, without a weapon, he destroyed them, while he himself went off to his fortress unharmed. But a certain one of the foreigners had concealed himself on the road, and as soon as T'or'nik went by, he pierced his heart [with a spear]. T'or'nik fell down dead immediately. Taking his head they brought it to Philaretus who had it fashioned into a cup for drinking wine. As for the body, he had it burned in fire. [T'or'nik's friends] gathered the remains and buried them at the monastery of Glak, by the door of [the church of] St. Karapet [John the Baptist]. [T'or'nik] left two sons, Ch'ortuane'l and Vasak, who were still boys. Then the impious Philaretus sent to Grigorios *Vkayase'r* for him to come [and occupy] his [*kat'oghikosal*] throne. But he was afraid to go. [Philaretus] sent to him a second time, but Grigorios wrote to him to ordain in his place Lord Sargis, Lord Petros' sister's son. He sent the veil and [g81] the staff, but he himself did not go to him. When Philaretus realized that Grigoris would not return to his throne, he had Lord Sargis ordained as *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians in the district of Jahan, in the fortress called Honi. As for Lord Grigoris, he went to the capital city of Ani where he ordained as bishop his own sister's son, Lord Barsegh, son of Vasak, son of Apirat, son of Hasan. Subsequently [Barsegh] became *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians [Barsegh I Anets'i, 1105-1113].

[40] In the year 523 A.E. [1074] Lord Grigoris went to Constantinople and confirmed [in the faith] those Armenians he found there. Then he went to Rome and thence to Egypt where he visited the retreats where cenobites had isolated themselves in prayer [resembling] the blessed Fathers. Now the king of Egypt received him splendidly, as though an angel of God had come to him, and did not want him to leave his land, promising to increase the Armenian population there by 30,000. Lord Grigoris ordained as *kat'oghikos* of Egypt Lord Grigor, his sister's son, who was adorned both with physical and spiritual beauty. Then he himself returned to the land of the Armenians, since his mother was living [there]. [These events] occurred [g82] during the reign over the Byzantines of Ducas' son, Michael. He was a good, merciful, God-loving man, who resembled the first emperors. At his order *dahekans* were minted which circulated throughout the land. He was emperor for four years, by the will of God. But the empress loathed him because of his saintly behavior, since he was reserved concerning physical desires. The empress was besotted with a prince named Botaniates (Vo'tianat) [Nicephorus III, Botaniates, 1078-1081], and incited him and all of Constantinople against Michael. But Michael did not oppose them. He merely publicly cursed the empress. Michael left the imperial throne and became a monk in a monastery, which had long been his desire.

In the year 525 A.E. [1076] Botaniates reigned, taking Michael's wife for himself in vile adultery. During this period the duke of the great [city of] Antioch was Prince Vasak Pahlawuni, son of Grigor Magistros. One day while passing down a street, two spearmen approached and prostrated themselves in front of him. They held out a letter for him, and as [Vasak] bent down to take it, they thrust a dagger into his eye and killed him. Thus was [g83] Vasak slain by these abominable men. All the troops assembled in the citadel of Antioch, summoned Philaretus, and gave Antioch into his hands. Then Philaretus assembled the traitors who were of Byzantine nationality, some 700 men, on the pretext of going somewhere [on a campaign]. Taking them to a village called Ap'shun, he put all of them to the sword, exacting vengeance on them for the blood of valiant Vasak. Then he tyrannized over Antioch. In the same period, the Armenian prince Pext, a brave man from the House of Shirak, was slain. The Byzantine emperor had tyrannized over him and had him baptized [according to the] Byzantine [confession], because of the great affection he had for him and because of his bravery. He had become ill in his fortress named Andriun. With him was a Byzantine monk who had been designated his father confessor by the emperor and who resided with him. But one day the impious monk went to Pext who was alone and sleeping sweetly in his bed. Taking a pillow, [the monk] fell upon him and suffocated him. When his troops learned about his death, they took that monk and brutally tortured him and then hurled him down from the citadel where he died. Now Botaniates ruled as emperor for one year. He deeply regretted [his treatment of] Michael and was troubled in his mind about it. So he seated Melissenus (Melesianos) on the throne, and then he himself became a monk.

[41] In the year 526 A.E. [1077] Lord Sargis died and they ordained T'oros, surnamed Alaghutik, [as a *kat'oghikos*]. In the same year Vasil, son of Apuk'ap, assembled horsemen at Philaretus' order and went against Edessa. He harassed the city for six months, after which the citizens turned against the duke, Lewon, who fled and took refuge in the citadel, while the *proximus* fled for refuge into the church. [The people] brought him outside and killed him and gave the city to Vasil, who was a mild and benevolent man and a builder of the land. Now the Byzantine emperor Melissenus ruled for six months, before they rose against him and deposed him. They installed [as emperor] prince Alexius (Alek's) [Alexius Comnenus I, 1081-1118], who was Romanus' brother's son, a goodly, God-loving man who was brave in battle. And then there was peace in the House of the Byzantines [g85].

In the year 528 A.E. [1079] a severe famine occurred throughout the entire world, a result of the [actions of the] impious people of Muhammed, since they had spread throughout the world and destroyed the lands. As a result, there was a very grave famine and no one could find food or a place of rest, except in Egypt and in the territories of Antioch in the land of the Cilicians. And everyone came there from all the districts, mobbing the place like locusts. Rich and lofty men and women begged like the poor and died from the severity of the famine, while there was no one [left] to bury them. Many became food for the birds and beasts. This was the

start of the destruction of the House of the East. In the same year King Gagik went with many troops to the Armenian prince Aplgharip in the capital city of Tarsus, summoned by Aplgharip over some matter concerning their kinship. However for some reason the matter did not end amicably. Gagik, with 1,000 cavalry, returned growling with anger and came to the plain of Ar'chias, close to the fortress called Kitr'o'skap. The lords of the fortress were three Byzantine brothers, the sons of Mantale'. Gagik left his troops and turned aside [g86] from the road with three men, and went up to see them. Now previously [the Byzantines] with 50 horsemen had set an ambush for Gagik, and when he approached the fortress, the three Byzantine brothers came out to do obeisance to him. When Gagik bowed to kiss them, they seized him by the neck and dragged him from his horse, while the ambushers took and brought him to the fortress of Kitr'o'skap. When his troops heard this, they scattered. After eight days the entire House of the Armenians gathered at the fortress [including] Abas' son, Gagik, and the entire clan of Senek'erim (Sinak'erim), Atom and Apusahl and all the Armenian princes, and they harassed the fortress for many days, though they were unable to accomplish anything. The princes who had seized Gagik did not dare to let him go. Philaretus wrote to them inquiring how they dared do that to the king and [saying] that whether or not they released him, they had effected their own ruination. Then those God-forsaken people strangled King Gagik, hanged [his body] on the wall for a day, and then, removing him from the fortress, buried him. After six days a man from their city named Banik came and stole Gagik's body and took it to his city [of Pizu] and to his folk. The Armenian people deeply mourned him and buried him in his monastery of Pizu. He had left a son, Yovhanne's. After this [g87] royal rule among the Armenians ceased being held by the Bagratid clan.

[42] In the year 530 A.E. [1081] the archbishop of Ani Shirakan, Lord Barsegh, went to the Lo're' district of Aghuania, to the Armenian king Gorge', son of David the Landless, son of Gagik, and requested that they hold an ordination for the Armenian *kat'oghikosate*. The king and Lord Step'anos so ordered and they held an assembly with many bishops and ordained Lord Barsegh as *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians [Barsegh I Anets'i, 1105-1113], amidst great rejoicing. The same year a certain emir of the Persians came with numerous troops to Edessa, ruining places here and there. Some Christians encountered him near Samusat and were defeated and put to flight. Going along [the Saljuqs] enslaved whomever they chanced upon as far as Harran. There an Arab emir fell upon them and made them fugitives and he looted what they had taken and enslaved everyone.

In the year 532 A.E. [1083] the lord of Edessa, Vasil, son of Apuk'ap, died and [the people] were in great mourning [g88] over the loss of such a goodly prince. They gave the city to Smbat, who was a brave man and an in-law of Vasil, [being married to] his brother's daughter. He went to Philaretus and handed the city over to him. But after a few days that impious man seized prince Smbat and all his clan, destroyed all their homes, and then took them to Marash, where he blinded Smbat and his brother T'or'nik. He also killed prince Arjuk and kept other Armenian princes in bondage because of his evil nature and enormous greed.

[43] In the year 533 A.E. [1084], a certain Emir Sulaiman, Kutlumish's son [Sulaiman ibn Kutlumish, c. 1077-1086, Saljuq Sultan of Rum], who resided in Nicaea in Bithynia, came with many troops to Antioch. Finding it unprepared and undefended, he seized it from the side of Aleppo with [only] 300 followers. The next day when the citizens saw what had happened, they were terrified since they did not have any fighting men there. Then the forces of the foreigners began to increase day by day. The men of the city were Peletikk' ["Belted Ones"], effeminate and soft, and they all fled into the citadel. Sulaiman harassed them and made a treaty, and no one damaged the city. At that time Philaretus was in the city of Edessa. He was unable to do anything [about this] except to complain bitterly. And Sulaiman ruled Antioch [g89] and all the districts of the Cilicians. In this manner he took great Antioch from the wicked Pelitik men, who so loathed the Armenians that they had adopted the following custom: whenever a foreigner entered the city, they seized him, cut off his beard, and expelled him from the city in disgrace. Twenty years before [Antioch's] capture by Emir Kutlumish, [the Pelitikk'] had seized someone [visiting] from the city of Ani, took his belongings, shaved his beard, and threw him out of the city with insults. Hurt, [that man] went back to his home, took some 500 Turkish horsemen, and returned to capture the entire district of Antioch. He burned twelve of the duke's

villages, slaughtered the inhabitants, threw them into the river, and had it announced in the city: "I am Gorg Shirakats'i whose beard you cut off, and [what I have done] was in return for that one beard." Then he returned to his home with a great deal of booty. Similarly, on the day of Barekendan [the Sunday preceding the start of Lent], a caravan arrived [at Antioch] bearing *tarex* fish for sale. There were eighty select men [of that caravan], who sat near the custom-house drinking wine and [watching] the minstrels dancing. [The Pelikikk'] became enraged by the sound of the songs and fell upon them, starting to beat them and expel them from the city. But the eighty men attacked the citizens and made [g90] them flee as far as [the church of] St. Peter, smashing the hands and heads of many of them. The citizens became frightened and came before [Georg's troops] carrying crosses and gospels, and they swore that they would never bother them again. So they made peace and ceased their [insulting] activities.

In the year 533 [1084 A.E.] the Armenian *vardapet*, Yakovbos K'arap'nets'i, died in deep old age in Edessa. The same year the Arab king, Sharaf-ad-Daulah (Sharafto'ln), the son of Kuraysh, a good and merciful man, assembled a force of 100,000 Arabs. He went and captured Aleppo and made the daughter of the lord of Aleppo his wife. Then he moved against great Antioch and Sulaiman, lord of Antioch, came against him at Pzah to fight. When the battle had been joined, the troops of the Arabs were put to flight and their king was slain. Then Sulaiman returned to Antioch in great triumph. There his wife bore him a son whom he named Kilij-Arslan (Xlich-Aslan). In the same year a certain emir named Po'ltachi seized the district of Jahan from Philaretus. The *kat'oghikos*, Lord T'oros, remained under his authority. Philaretus sent and summoned him to come to Marash, but the *kat'oghikos* refused. As a result, [Philaretus] became furious with him and summoned the archbishop of [the monastery of] the Holy Icon, Lord Yovhanne's, to occupy [g91] the *kat'oghikosal* throne. But because he was a blessed and virtuous man, he refused. Then [Philaretus] summoned the abbot of Varag monastery, Po'ghos, and they made him [a] *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians. But after a few days, he quit the *kat'oghikosate* and returned to his monastery.

[44] In the year 534 A.E. [1085] the sultan of Egypt, who was named Tutush (Ttush), came with many troops to fight against Sulaiman, who was then lord of Antioch. They clashed between Antioch and Aleppo, and both sides lost many men. Sulaiman was slain and his troops took to flight. Thus Tutush ruled Antioch and all its borders. He was a sultan, the son of Alp-Arslan and the brother of Malik-Shah. Six years earlier he had captured Damascus from Atsiz (Axisis), a brave man who had ruled over Egypt and all the coastal areas.

In the year 535 A.E. [1086] the impious Philaretus went to do homage to the world-conquering Sultan Malik-Shah requesting [g92] kindness toward the Christian believers. [Philaretus] left in his place prince Parakamanos [the *paracoemomenus*]. Then one of Philaretus' princes named Parsama hatched a wicked plot with his comrades: on Sunday they came to the citadel of Edessa, found Parakamanos praying in church, and killed him there. The citizens made the murderer, Parsama, duke of the city because of Parakamanos' slaying. When Sultan Malik-Shah heard about this he removed Philaretus from honor. [Philaretus], in complete despair, apostasized that [Christian] faith which he had falsely held, thinking thereby that he would be glorified by the sultan. But nothing helped him. On the contrary, he became hateful before God and man alike. That same year the world-conqueror, Malik-Shah, moved westward with numerous troops. First he ruled over the land of the Armenians. Then he came and ruled over Aleppo and Antioch and all the shores of the land. He had a kind and merciful heart and loved everyone. After ruling Antioch, he came to the sea at as-Suwaidiyah (*Sew oti*) and went into the water on his horse. Unsheathing his sword, he struck the water three times, descended from his horse, praying and thanking God who had empowered him more [g93] than his father and had given him [territories] from the Persian sea to the Ocean [Mediterranean Sea]. He put a wicked man named Yaghi-Siyan (Asxian) over Antioch and a good and constructive man named Aksungur (Axse"ngoyr) over Aleppo. That same year the emir Buzan, at Malik-Shah's order, besieged the city of Edessa. The sultan himself came there and then departed, while Buzan continued to harass the city. The citizens rose against Duke Parsama who, in desperation, threw himself from the walls and perished. The citizens gave Edessa to Buzan who designated a ruler for the city, and there was peace during his day.

Meanwhile Sultan Malik-Shah went against Gandzak and took it. Lord Step'anos, *kat'oghikos* of the Aghuanians, was there but got away with God's help. Now during the reign of Alexius [I, Comnenus, 1081-1118] over the Byzantines, the Pechenegs caused a disturbance in Byzantium. The Pechenegs triumphed and caused Alexius to flee. Alexius opened up his treasury and allocated funds for many troops. The Pechenegs came to take Constantinople from him. Emperor Alexius armed his troops with fasting and prayers while he himself, for eight days, did not leave the church where he sought aid from the Lord. Then the emperor attacked the Pechenegs and the two sides engaged in a ferocious battle. The Pechenegs were bowmen who fought from carts with amazing skill. The emperor ordered [g94] that oil be thrown onto the carts, and thus he triumphed and turned them back while he himself pursued and slaughtered them with their women and children. Then he returned in great triumph. In that same year an evil-doing Byzantine monk, a worshipper of Satan, appeared in Constantinople. He kept a dog with him and worshipped it with wicked sorcery, corrupting many believers including the mother of Emperor Alexius. The emperor's mother had so deviated [from Orthodoxy] that she had taken a portion of the Lord's Cross and put it in the emperor's shoe, such that he would always be stepping on it. When the emperor learned about this, he immediately deposed his mother from [the imperial] glory and drowned that impious monk and his collaborator, Mushegh, and others in the sea.

[45] In the year 539 A.E. [1090] the blessed patriarch, Lord Barsegh, arose and went before Sultan Malik-Shah since he saw that the Christians were being oppressed by various taxes, especially the priests, bishops, and all ranks of the clergy. He took along with him honored clerics from among the bishops, priests and gentry. With valuable gifts he went to the God-loving sultan. The sultan received him with great honor, since he was a wise and brilliant man, eloquent and handsome. Through his wisdom he got the sultan to agree with everything he discussed with him. The sultan granted all his requests and gave him a document [granting tax] freedom to the churches and monasteries, and then sent him back with honor and joy [g95]. Then Lord Barsegh went to the district of Jahan and deposed T'oros Alagho'tik from his see. The impious Philaretus had installed him there. Lord Barsegh, the blessed patriarch, circulated throughout the entire country and made peace with all the churches, leading everyone according to God's will. He also went to Caesarea of the Cappadocians, then again to Antioch, and from there to Edessa. Everyone was pleased with him, and he loved everyone with spiritual love.

In the month of September in the year 540 A.E. [1091] there was an earthquake throughout the entire country which did great damage in Antioch and Nisibis, and numerous men and women perished under their [collapsed] dwellings.

In the year 541 A.E. [1092] there was widespread death throughout the entire country, to the point that [the living] were unable to bury the dead. In the same year, Lord Po'ghos brought to Edessa the Holy Cross [of Varag] and the icon of the blessed Mother of God. The prince of the city received him with honor, but a few days later he sacrilegiously stole the Holy Cross from Lord Po'ghos. In the same year, at Sultan Malik-Shah's order, Buzan massed Persian troops. He took along his wife as well as the lord of Aleppo and the lord of Antioch, and went with an enormous multitude and encamped against Constantinople. But he was unable to accomplish anything. In the same year the goodly Sultan Malik-Shah died. News of his death reached Buzan who left Constantinople and came to Edessa, and each of the [military] chiefs returned to his own place [g96]. The *kat'oghikos*, Lord Barsegh, who was then in Edessa, went as a refugee to Ani. Sultan Malik-Shah had two sons, the elder was named Berk-Yaruq (Pakiarux) and the younger, Sap'ar (Tap'ar). Berk-Yaruq ruled in his father's stead. He was a good man and started the rebuilding of the land of the Armenians, and kept free the monasteries, churches, and priests throughout his entire country.

[46] In the year 542 A.E. [1093] Tutush, lord of Damascus, son of Sultan Alp-Arslan, and brother of Malik-Shah, assembled many troops and went to Antioch. He took along the lord of Antioch and the lord of Aleppo and went to the land of the Persians. The troops of the Persians massed in an incalculable multitude, and all

the troops of the district of the Babylonians came to the district of Mosul. The head of the Arab troops was Ibrahim (Prehin), son of Kuraysh (Kurish). Tutush reached Nisibis and captured it, while the troops of the Armenians who were with the sultan killed as many as ten thousand Tachiks. The army of the Arabs came to the borders of Nisibis. Meanwhile Sultan Berk-Yaruq sent to Buzan and brought him to help him, by an oath [g97]. He then went against the chief of the Arabs in the plain of Nisibis. When the battle raged, the Arabs turned to flight and their chief was slain. The Persian troops, loaded with spoil, turned [to Persia]. Now the king of the Persians supported Berk-Yaruq and placed Ismael, his mother's brother, as commander-in-chief. This was the same man who had been designated [ruler] over the land of the Armenians, and he was a good man who was merciful toward the Christians. Subsequently Buzan and Aksungur strangled him outside the army and then fled, Buzan to Edessa and Aksungur to Aleppo. Ismael was slain by them.

In the year 543 A.E. [1094] Tutush came with numerous troops against Aleppo, killed Buzan and Aksungur, and captured Aleppo. Putting Buzan's head on a pike, he took it to Aleppo. Tutush came to Edessa and designated as mayor the Byzantine prince T'e'odos [T'oros], son of Het'um, while he himself went on to Persia with many troops to fight against Berk-Yaruq. He received a letter from his brother's wife, inviting him to come and be her husband. Tutush, agreeing, reached the plain of [g98] Isfahan (Aspahan). Berk-Yaruq sent to Tutush entreating him: "Give me only Isfahan." But [Tutush] ignored him. Then both sides attacked each other. Yaghi-Siyan fled and Tutush was killed, while Berk-Yaruq took all of Tutush's goods. Tutush's son, whose name was Ridvan (R'aswan/R'atuan), fled to his home. *Curopolate* T'oros was in Edessa at that time, and began building the city walls, aiming at ruling over it. The citadel was [in the hands of] Persians in which there were Turkish guards. There were also a few Armenian [guards] who had been put there by Tutush. When the *aspasalar* realized that [T'oros] had gained control of the citadel of Maniaces, he notified the neighboring emirs that T'oros had seized the city.

[47] In the year 544 A.E. [1095] Sokman, the son of Artuk, and Balduk, the emir of Samosata, massed troops and came against Edessa. *Curopolate* T'oros fortified the city and held it with great bravery, while the foreigners turned back in disgrace. They gave the citadel into his hands and there was peace in the city.

In the year 545 [1096] the sultan of the West, Kilij-Arslan (Xlich Aslan) [1092-1107] came against the city of Melitene with many troops and besieged it terribly. The prince of the city, whose name was Gabriel (Ghavr'il) and who was the father-in-law of [g99] of *Curopolate* T'oros, bravely defended the city of Edessa, and Sultan Kilij-Arslan returned to his own land in shame. In the same period prominent princes of the nation of the Romans [the Crusaders], came with an enormous host to aid the Christians, at the command of a monk among them named Petros Sargis [Peter the Hermit]. His history is fully written with the names of the princes [who came with him] in the Frankish histories. With them came bishops, doctors of the church, priests and deacons as great in number as the stars in the sky. They reached Constantinople. Emperor Alexius sent a force to oppose them in battle, but [the Byzantines] were put to flight and many of them were killed. Then Emperor Alexius made peace with them, but not wholeheartedly, as is recorded in their histories. Emperor Alexius gave them treasures of gold and silver and [g100] they promised that the lands which the Muslims had seized from the Romans would be given to him. They went on to the land of Cappadocia. The lord of that land, Kilij-Arslan, who was besieging Melitene, heard about this and went against them. There was a ferocious battle, and the brave soldiers of Christ, resembling eagles attacking a flock of pheasants, fell upon the troops of the foreigners, blanketing the ground with their corpses. The troops of the foreigners took to flight and the country filled up with their bodies. [The Crusaders] took myriads upon myriads of captives as well as their belongings, as booty. But after three days Kilij-Arslan again massed troops and came against them, and once again they slaughtered them and captured Nicaea, and gave it to Emperor Alexius.

[48] In the year 546 A.E. [1097] during the patriarchate of Lord Grigoris *Vkayase'r*, [there arose] a certain prince from a great family, from among Gagik's princes. His name was Kostandin, son of Ruben (R'ube'n), who [g101], following the death of King Gagik, had come to the Taurus Mountains and with valiant bravery

came to rule over many fortresses and districts. Now this Kostandin, Ruben's son, and the prince of Edessa, T'e'odoros, sent a letter to the princes who had arrived from Rome, whom we mentioned earlier, that they should come here [to Cilicia] to expel the foreigners. At their urging they came with an incalculable host through the pass of Po'tand and thence to Adana and Anarzaba, then on to great Antioch. There they encamped and covered the plains, and trapped the Persian military commander, Yaghi-Siyan, in the city. They besieged the city for ten months. When the surrounding Persian princes learned about this, they came against [the Crusaders] with many troops. They had assembled the [troops of] Damascus, Jerusalem, and all the coastal areas bordering them—He'ms, Hama, Aleppo and the entire land of Syria as far as the Euphrates River. They came in an enormous multitude and encamped in the plain of Aleppo, to battle against the Christian troops. When the princes of the Romans heard this they started to prepare for war, armed their troops and went out against them to fight. Count St. Gilles (Gundsanjil) [Raymond IV] and [g102] Bohemond (Pemunt) took brigades of 10,000 troops and attacked them like lions in the borders of Antioch. [The Crusaders] put them to flight, slaughtering 60,000, and chased them as far as the gate of Aleppo. Then they turned back, loaded with spoil.

In the year 547 A.E. [1098] Emir Sokman (Suk'man), son of Artuk, a brave and martial man, assembled some 30,000 troops from Mosul and Babylon and came against the Christians. Brave Count St. Gilles with 7,000 horsemen battled with him in the borders of Aleppo and, by the grace of God, was victorious. With his lance he pinnioned Tughtikin (Tushtikin), lord of Damascus, and put his troops to flight, killing them mercilessly. Then they gathered up all their belongings and brought them to camp. However, the Christian troops, due to their multitude, were bothered about victuals. So the Armenian princes who held the Taurus Mountains—Kostandin, son of Ruben, and Bazuni and Oshin—continually sent them the food they needed. Similarly the monks of Black Mountain and all the believers encouraged [the Crusaders] and showed them friendship. Nonetheless, disease and death were visited upon them, to the point that [g103] they were depleted by a fifth. The same year a comet appeared again and manifested itself as a marvel in the heavens, since the sky was [as though] on fire, frightening beholders with its deep red color.

[49] In the year 548 A.E. [1099] Baudoin/Baldwin (Paghtin), brother of Count St. Gilles, went to Tell Bashir with 1,700 horsemen and captured it. When the prince of Edessa, the *curopalate*, heard about this he was delighted and sent to him to come to his aid. So Baudoin went to Edessa with 180 horsemen. Everyone came out to greet him with great ceremony and led him into the city of Edessa. *Curopalate* T'oros displayed great honor and friendship toward the count, giving him numerous gifts and establishing an oath of unity with him. The prince of the Armenians [g104], Kostandin, also came from Gargar with 50 cavalry. T'oros took them out to battle against Balduk, the emir of Samosata. He sent after them forces from the city and infantry from the district. They went to Samosata and looted the flourishing outskirts. At first, the foreigners did not dare to come out against them, but when they saw that [the Christians] were persisting, the foreigners arose against them and cut them down. Baudoin and the count escaped by a hairsbreadth and fled to Edessa. Then some forty impious men from the city of Edessa took counsel with the count about Baudoin, [planning] to kill *Curopalate* T'oros and give the city to Baudoin. And he agreed with their wicked plan. They similarly united the entire city, including Kostandin, around this plot. Thus all of them attacked the property of T'oros and his princes, trapped T'oros within the citadel, and ferociously battled against him. Depressed, [T'oros] requested an oath from them that they would leave him unharmed to take his wife and children to his father-in-law in Melitene. An oath was sworn by the count in the church of the Blessed Apostles, and by the holy Cross of Varag. Then T'oros [g105] gave the citadel to the count. The princes entered the citadel, and the citizens seized T'oros and threw him from the wall into the midst of a mob. On the feast of K'arasunk' [Tuesday in the sixth week of Lent] they killed him by stabbing him with their swords in many places. Then they tied ropes around his feet and dragged [his body] along with insults. Thus did those men who had broken their vow wickedly deal with this good and God-loving man; and they turned Edessa over to Baudoin. In the same year the *aspasalar* of the Persian [ruler] Berk-yaruq, who was named Kerbogha (Kurapagha), came with numerous troops to war against the forces of the Romans. He came and encamped by the gates of the city of Edessa

until harvest time and devoured their victuals. He warred against Edessa for forty days. [50] Then the son of Yaghi-Siyan, the emir of Antioch, came and threw himself at Kerbogha's feet, begging him to come to his aid and relating that the army of the Christians was small and starving. Kerbogha moved all the troops of the foreigners from East to West, from Babylon and those parts, from Damascus and all the coastal areas, and from Jerusalem to the desert areas. He assembled 800,000 cavalry and 300,000 infantry and boastfully and pridefully came against the Christians to the gates of Antioch. Up to that point they still had not taken Antioch from the Turks. Before they had reached Antioch, divine mercy was implanted in the heart of one Christian named Ge'org, a maker [g106] of swords, leather-goods, and armor. He had held a hollow for ten months which was bordering Bohemond's [holdings]. During this ten month period Bohemond and the sword maker had become acquainted and friendly, and planned to give the city to the Christians, so that when the *sparapet* of the Persians, Kerbogha (Gorpara), arrived they would not be completely wiped out. He said to Bohemond: "Your comrades have promised you only the city, but I will both give you the city and save you from the Persians." Bohemond went to his comrades and related this conversation to them. All the Roman princes agreed to this out of their fear of the Persians who were coming against them in huge numbers and were already close to Hant'ap'. They gave Bohemond the ornament of *dundundluz* and others if he wanted, if he would not give his share except with Bohemond's signature, so that Antioch would be his alone and his family's (?) Bohemond took the document in his hands and went and showed it to that fathful man [? Ge'org], and he planned to inform his brother that he wanted him to give up the city, arguing to him that this [course of action] was necessary to save the Christians. [He would say]: "Were it possible I myself would kill all [of the enemy]." But the goodly confederate did not inform his brother. Rather he waited until evening and when the brother was sound asleep, he secretly went in[to his chamber] and killed him [g107]. He emerged and placed ladders [against the wall], and the Christians climbed up and went into the city. They found the citizens unawares. Putting swords to work, [the Christians] slaughtered everyone they chanced upon in Antioch. Those who escaped by a hairsbreadth fled into the citadel. Just then Kerbogha arrived with innumerable troops and completely surrounded the city. Thus the good man [?] did not spare his brother for the believers and/or the reasons he had given. The one residing in Antioch was called Prince Bohemond, from the line of the first Bohemond. As we mentioned, when the Romans entered the city and when Kerbogha was besieging it and afflicting them, the Christian forces were suffering hunger, as the city had long since been running out of victuals. So they thought to pledge an oath to the foreigners and give the city to them and return to their own land. Miracle-working God, for Whom the impossible is possible, opened the gates of His mercy and looked upon their suffering. [51] The blessed apostle Peter appeared to a pious Roman, a poor deacon, saying: "Lo, the spear which the impious Jews used to pierce Our Lord Jesus Christ in the side is located in the reliquary in front of the altar of our church. Take it out and go forth with it into battle, and you will triumph over them." And the same [g108] vision appeared a second and a third time, until the man believed in it. Then he went and related it to Count Godfrey [of Bouillon], to Bohemond, and to all the princes. They started to pray and to rejoice exceedingly. At that point, a messenger arrived from the army of the foreigners, seeking to go to war. The princes replied: "We shall emerge tomorrow." The next morning Bohemond arranged his brigades for battle—15,000 cavalry and 170,000 infantry—and went out with them to fight. They had the spear of Christ before them. Now the forces of the foreigners covered the face of the plain from end to end, fifteen ranks deep. Then Count St. Gilles erected the spear of Christ opposite the standards of Kerbogha and Gorparan. On his left was the lion-visaged Tancred, while on his right was Count Robert of Norway (Ungr'ats' R'o'pert). Thus did Godfrey and Bohemond face the dense mass of troops of the foreigners' army. The Christians, one and all, called upon God to assist them and then turned with faith upon the foreigners. By the grace of God they gained on them, and blazed like a fire spreading through hay, burning the army of the foreigners. Those who turned to flight also fell to their swords, such that the country filled up with their corpses. Their goods were forsaken to their slayers, while 300,000 of their infantry [g109] were annihilated. [The Crusaders] took an incalculable number of horses, mules, and weapons, and returned to Antioch laden with booty, in joy and exultation.

In the year 549 A.E. [1100] the army of the Romans went against the blessed city of Jerusalem. *En route* troops of foreigners came against them in battle. When they reached 'Arqah (Arka), there was a ferocious battle between the two sides. The Franks conquered the foreigners, captured 'Arqah, and wrought much destruction. Then they continued on to the gates of Jerusalem and greatly harassed the Jerusalemites with fighting for six days. At that time the blessed patriarch of the Armenians, Grigoris *Vkayase'r*, was in Jerusalem and the foreigners wanted to kill him. But God delivered him from their hands. The Christian forces, fighting strongly, entered the city. Then Count Godfrey took the sword of Vespasian and attacked [g110] the foreigners with his troops, killing 66,000 men in the temple. Thus was the holy city of Jerusalem freed from paying taxes to the infidel. The same year some 300,000 [Muslims] assembled in a huge mass, from Egypt, Nubia, and all the lands from Ethiopia to the borders of India, and went against Jerusalem. When the Christians heard about this they were horror-struck. Since they did not dare to go against them, they all left the city, reasoning that if they were unable to battle, they would turn around and flee to their own land. [The antagonists] met each other by the shore of the ocean. Seeing the Christian troops, the king of the Egyptians launched an attack and the two sides clashed. As the battle raged, the Franks triumphed and put to flight the Nubians and others, slaughtering them like sheep. Some 100,000 of the fugitives fell into the sea and drowned. Then the believers returned to Jerusalem in triumph, loaded with their [enemy's] goods [g111].

[52] In the same period [lived] Grigor, *curopalate* of the East. He was from the Pahlawuni clan, the son of Vasak, son of Hasan, and the brother of Lord Barsegh, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians. He massed troops and went with them to the village called Kaghzuan where he unexpectedly fell upon the Turks at night, ferociously killing them and putting the rest to flight. Then, victorious, he returned to the city of Ani. While he was unconcernedly traveling along, a Hagarene who had concealed himself in a tree, shot him in the mouth with an arrow. He fell to the ground from the force of the blow, and the great Grigor died. There was deep mourning throughout the entire House of Shirak. That same year the great prince of the Armenians, Kostandin, son of Ruben, reposed in Christ leaving two sons, T'oros and Lewon. We wrote about Kostandin earlier. He was one of the Armenian princes of King Gagik, the Bagratid, son of Ashot. After the death of King Gagik, he had come to the Taurus Mountains where he bravely and valiantly seized control over a great part of the Taurus Mountains, ruling many fortresses and districts which he ravished from the Muslims. Before his death there appeared a wondrous omen: flashing fire, like lightning, penetrated the fortress of Vahka, striking a silver tray and throwing it to the opposite side of the house, where it landed under seven other trays. They said that this presaged [g112] the death of Kostandin. He died that year with a good confession in Christ, and was buried in the blessed congregation of Kastagho'n. May the Lord have mercy on him. In the same year there was famine throughout all the countries, and great distress in the city of Edessa, since rain had not fallen for a full year. The famine in Edessa grew so great that a Byzantine woman cooked and ate her son. Similarly a Tachik ate his wife. For God had destroyed the power of bread; they ate but were not filled. Now it seems to me that this was God's revenge for the unjust death of *Curopalate* T'e'odoros, lord of Edessa, who was slain.

In the year 549 A.E. [1100] God's bounty came upon the entire country and man and beast were satiated. In the same year the great count Godfrey with his troops came to Caesarea of the Phillipians. The Tachik princes came out to him in friendship, bringing food which they placed before them. And he and those with him ate of it without precaution. But the food was mixed with a fatal poison. After a few days [g113] Count Godfrey and forty men with him died. They buried him in the blessed city of Jerusalem, in front of Golgotha, and they gave superintendency of the city to Sir Tancred, since he happened to be there. They sent to Edessa and brought Godfrey's brother, Baudoin, and gave Jerusalem to him. Tancred arose and went to Antioch to his mother's brother, Bohemond. At that time a military commander of the Byzantines, the prince of princes named T'at'ul, was under the command of Emperor Alexius in Marash, which [city the Crusaders] had given over to Alexius, according to their oath. [53] Bohemond, the count of Antioch, and his sister's son, Richard, went to take Marash from the Byzantine emperor, but after doing battle they were unable to take it from the valiant T'at'ul, who was of Armenian nationality. At that point the lord of Sebastia, Danishmend

(Danushman), came against Melitene and warred with it, while Gabriel (Ghavril), prince of the city, sent to Bohemond, saying: "Come help us and I will give Melitene to you." So Bohemond and Richard left Marash and went against Danishmend. When Danishmend learned about this, he put ambushes in numerous places along their route [g114]. [The Crusaders] advanced along the way without a care, without armor, while their weapons were being carried by bearers, as is the custom until the battle site was reached. Then suddenly Danishmend's troops filled up [the area], pounced on them, slaughtered everyone, and captured Bohemond and Richard. They also killed two bishops, Cyprianus and Grigorius, who, though Armenian by nationality, were dear to Bohemond and circulated around with him. At such a tragedy the infidels rejoiced and the Christians grieved. When Baudoin, count of Edessa, and all the Frankish people heard about this they pursued Danishmend but were unable to overtake him. He had captured the princes and taken them to Neocaesarea (Nikisar), and [the Crusaders], unable to reach them, turned back. The count of Edessa returned to Edessa and gave the city to the other Baudoin, who was styled Baudoin of Le Bourg (Te"po'rg), who had previously been a vassal of Bohemond. He himself harassed the city, took much treasure, and went to Jerusalem, as we related above, where he ruled as king in place of his brother, Count Godfrey. Tancred went to Antioch. Now these things befell the Frankish troops because of their unjust deeds, abandoning the road of truth, and traversing the byways of impiety. Thus did God remove from them His earlier assistance and triumphs, and He strengthened their foes. In the same year Sokman, son of Artuk, a brave and martial man [g115], came to the city of Saruj (Sruch) with many troops, and subjected the entire country to raiding and looting. When Baudoin Le Bourg and Fulcher (Fujer), the count of Saruj, heard this news, they went against the Turks, but they were put to flight. And [the Turks] killed the troops of the Franks and the Armenians, also killing that valiant warrior, Fulcher, while Baudoin escaped to Edessa with three horsemen, sorrowfully. Then he arose and went to Antioch, where he requested [additional] troops. The foreigners were then battling against the citadel of Saruj where all the Christians had gathered, among them the bishop (*papios*) of Edessa. Yet other Christians in the city made common cause with the Turks. After seven days Baudoin Le Bourg arrived with 700 horsemen and 8,000 infantry. He attacked the Turks and put them to flight, killing 700 and capturing 50 emirs. Having expelled the Turks, they turned against the city and put everyone to the sword, taking their goods, women and children. Antioch and all its territories filled up from their captivity, and Saruj was laid waste by the nation of Franks.

[54] In the year 550 A.E. [1101] a great wonder took place at Jerusalem, as the lamp which usually was lit on Holy Saturday [g116] in the Lord's Sepulcher did not light up until meal time on Easter Sunday. This was proof of their deviation, for the nation of Franks had abandoned their customary benevolent deeds and descended into indiscriminate fornication and loathsome acts, which are unworthy of narration. They had designated women as attendants of the divine Tomb, while the clerics and priests did not desist from eating, drinking, and satisfying their physical desires. They removed all the Christian peoples from their own inheritance. But when the lamp did not light up, [the Franks] realized [what they had caused]. They restored all the peoples to their [previous] places and [restored] the congregation attending to [the site] of the blessed Resurrection. Once they had done these things, and the five Christian [communities of Jerusalem] prayed, that lamp lighted up on Sunday at meal time. They rejoiced and praised God.

In the year 551 A.E. [1102] the Frankish Count St. Giles turned back with his 10,000 fighting cavalry, and came to Constantinople. He gave the lance of Christ to Emperor Alexius, who received him with affection and gave him many gifts. But [g117] [Alexius] dealt with him in a diabolical manner. He gave him guides but told them to lead him via waterless places, and he had all the places that they would pass through burned, so that [the Franks] would not find anything [to eat]. Thus [the Franks] encountered grave difficulties, and ended up eating their own horses, as they found no villages or people along the way. Alexius wrought yet another iniquitous act against [St. Giles], for he notified the sultan [about events] and urged him to come and destroy them. Kilij-Arslan assembled numerous troops and fought with [the Crusaders], completely wiping them out. Count St. Giles with 300 horsemen fled to Antioch. At that point Tancred arrested him and put him into prison in irons at Sarvandik'ar. After some days the patriarch of Antioch and all the clerics beseeched Tancred

and [he] freed [St. Giles]. Then Count St. Giles went against Tripoli and besieged it. He constructed a city opposite [Tripoli] and remained there greatly harassing it. During this period, a great count from the Frankish nation, named William (Petewin) [William IX, duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou], arrived [g118] in Constantinople with 300,000 cavalry. He spoke with the Byzantine emperor with great arrogance, styling him "Eparch" instead of "Emperor." The entire House of the Byzantines was terrified of him. They gave him many treasures and made friends with him so that he would not harm the emperor or his lands. But the emperor dealt with William in the same manner as he had dealt with St. Giles. He had him led via uninhabited and waterless routes. He also notified Kilij-Arslan who notified Danishmend. [These two rulers] massed an incalculable host and the [opposing] sides clashed in the plain called Olosi (O'lasi). There was a ferocious battle lasting most of the day, and the face of the plain was covered with blood. The Byzantine troops and their commander fled, and the Romans wandered around like sheep in a foreign land, while the infidels mercilessly cut them down. When William saw the destruction of his troops he climbed up onto a mountain, while the foreigners surrounded the base of the mountain. That day was a grievous one for the Christians. William bitterly wept at the destruction of his forces. Then he fled in despair to Antioch with 400 horsemen. The rest of his troops were totally wiped out. William then went to Jerusalem, and after some days returned to his own land swearing to come back again to fight the Persians and to exact vengeance on the Byzantine emperor Alexius. In the same year the emir of Egypt, Arabia, and Nubia came against Jerusalem. Baudoin, the king of Jerusalem, came out against them with few soldiers, and the foreigners put them to flight back to Jerusalem. Then the foreigners returned to Ascalon with their heads held high.

[55] In the year 552 A.E. [1103] the Byzantines deviated from [the proper celebration of] Easter as they had done previously during the reign of Emperor Basil. The cause of this, it was said, was [the pique of] a certain Byzantine philosopher, named Irion (Ilion), who was embittered at the other Byzantine philosophers who had not invited him to their assembly where they were correcting the calendar. [Irion] secretly removed some calculations [for the month] of April causing Easter to be off every 95 years or more often. At first the Byzantines did not notice this. Following the deaths of those philosophers who were unaware [of the discrepancy], their successors merely accepted matters as though they were correct. As a result of this [erroneous Easter controversy] [g120], the Byzantines caused much hardship for the Armenian people, until the people of Edessa wrote to Lord Grigoris [for guidance] and received his reply. The same year the king of Egypt and Damascus once again massed troops and came against the city of Jerusalem. The king of Jerusalem, [Baudoin], went against them in battle but the Egyptians put them to flight. However just then, with God's aid, Frankish ships appeared with cavalry troops, and they crushed the Arab forces and put them to flight. Then the king of Jerusalem set off for Acre. But a Tachik was secretly hiding in a bush and shot the king in the side with an arrow. The Tachik was immediately killed, but the king remained incurable until he died. There was great mourning in Jerusalem for the king.

[56] In the year 553 A.E. [1104] violent anger was visited on the city of Edessa. In the morning severe rains fell mixed with hail, and then a flood broke in the wall and a large part of the city collapsed. Many animals were killed but not a single human was hurt. In the same year they ransomed Count Bohemond from Danishmend for 100,000 [g121] *dahekans*, through the mediation of the Armenian prince, Vasil. Vasil himself supplied 10,000 *dahekans*. He expended a good deal of effort to have [Bohemond] brought to his territory. He paid the ransom, retrieved him, and with great honor took him to the renowned fortress of Hor'omklay. He rested him and after not too many days sent Bohemond to Antioch. With a solemn oath [Bohemond] became the [adopted] son of Gogh Vasil, and they greatly liked each other. Gogh Vasil previously, from his childhood onward, had been a brigand—killing, stealing, and ravishing, and living with [a band of] his comrades. His acts of injustice succeeded and he was gradually able to advance, becoming lord of many fortresses and districts: K'eson, Peheson, R'apan, P'arzman, Hor'omklay and numerous other districts. He was a God-loving and pious man, a builder of the land who made the churches gleam and who decorated the monasteries and gave gifts to the priests, and provided for orphans and widows. He was endowed with every [kind of] piety. May his memory be blessed. Now Danishmend took Bohemond's sister's son, Richard, and gave him as a gift

to Alexius, the Byzantine emperor, in exchange for much treasure. The same year Baudoin, count of Edessa, massed troops and invaded the territory of Mardin. He captured innumerable flocks of sheep, oxen, horses, and camels, and slaughtered the Turks, taking their women and children into captivity to Edessa. In the same year the patriarch of the Armenians, Lord Barsegh [g122], left the city of Ani with his attendants and came to Edessa. Count Baudoin honored him as befitted a patriarch and gave him gifts of villages and estates. In the same year Lord Step'anos, *kat'oghikos* of the Aghuanians, died and Lord Barsegh sent a bishop there to be their *kat'oghikos*. He went and resided in Ganjak, but subsequently was found unworthy of the honor. When Lord Barsegh learned about this he deposed him from the [*kat'oghikosal*] throne and [expelled him] from the land.

[57] In the year 554 A.E. [1105] Baudoin, count of Edessa, and Joscelin, and Bohemond of Antioch massed all the Christian forces and went against [the city of] Harran, which they harassed with warfare. Now it happened that a certain impious Frank took [a loaf of] bread, cut it open, defecated into it, then placed the loaf at the gates of the city. One of the residents pounced on it, and took that loaf to eat. When he saw the loathsome act and related it to the citizens, the wise men said that God's righteousness would not excuse such an unworthy deed. At that point troops of the Persians came upon them [under] the emir of Mosul, Chokurmish (Chkrmish), and Sokman, the son of Artuk [g123]. The Frankish princes went against them at a place called Oshnut, two days' distance from the city. The count of Edessa and Joscelin became inflated with pride and got ahead of Bohemond so that they themselves would be the first to fight and enjoy the glory of triumph. When the two sides clashed in battle, the Persian forces won and put the Franks to flight, killing many and taking Baudoin and Joscelin captive. They took Baudoin to Mosul and Joscelin to Hisn Kaifa. There was a great slaughter on that day. Now Bohemond and Tancred fled with their troops to Antioch, and there was great mourning in all Christian localities for those [killed]. Bohemond planned to go to the land of the Franks, get [additional] cavalry and return. So he entrusted Antioch and Edessa to his sister's son, Tancred. When he reached the Frankish land, the wife of a [deceased] influential count who was lord of a land [tried to] force Bohemond to marry her, [and rule] the land [g124] and cavalry. But [Bohemond] refused, saying that he had sworn to get cavalry and return to aid the Christians. But the woman harassed him. When she was unable to convince him, she had him seized and put into prison in iron chains. Finally [Bohemond] consented and sired two sons. After five years Bohemond died, never having returned to these parts. In the same year the great Emir Danishmend died. He was [originally] from a Christian clan, and was a good man who was a builder of the land, and a lover of the Christians. He was survived by thirteen sons. The senior son, Melik Ghazi, bestially slaughtered his other brothers. In the same year Sokman, son of Artuk, died. [Artuk] had formerly held Jerusalem, and left clear traces in the church of the Holy Resurrection where three of his arrows are embedded in the church's ceiling. His son, Sokman, was a wicked shedder of blood. He had assembled numerous troops and went to aid Tripoli, but he was slain *en route* and his troops fled to their own land, to Persia. [58] In the same year the sultan of Persia, Berk-yaruq, Malik-Shah's son, died. His brother, Tap'ar, occupied his throne. In the same year Marash was taken from the Byzantines. T'at'ul, the prince of princes, had given Marash to Joscelin and had sold the icon of the Mother of God for much gold to the great prince T'oros, son of Kostandin, son of Ruben. [T'at'ul] himself then went to Constantinople. The image of the holy Mother of God was brought to the blessed congregation of Ark'akaghin. In this period Lord Grigoris *Vkayase'r* came to the great prince Gogh Vasil and [g125] was received with great honor. He had brought the *kat'oghikos*, Lord Barsegh, there and by the order and consent of Gogh Vasil he settled him in the blessed congregation called Shughr, close to the new city, and entrusted to him the two sons of Apirat, Grigoris and Nerse's, the sister's sons of Lord Grigori, *kat'oghikos* of Egypt, who were of the Pahlawuni clan from the line of Saint Gregory. He urged him to raise them with care since they were to be inheritors of the blessed throne. Then he himself passed to Christ in the year 555 A.E. [1106], having held the patriarchate for 40 years. He was buried at the monastery called Karmir [Red], close to K'esun. Then the abbot of the monastery, Lord Step'anos, convened a great assembly on the day of his burial and, with the honor befitting a patriarch, entrusted him to Christ. Prince Gogh Vasil and the entire assembly conducted extensive mourning over him. In the same year the great vegetarian hermit Markos died at 65 years of age and was buried at the blessed

congregation of Kastagho'n. In the same year the emir of Mosul, Chokurmish, came and descended to the gates of the city of Edessa where the general Richard was. Tancred quaked with fear of him. The city's guards emerged with infantry troops to fight with them, but the foreigners put them to flight, filled into the city of Xandak, and slew 400 of their men. Thus there was great mourning in Edessa [g126] while Chorormish triumphantly returned to his home. In the same year Count St. Giles died in Tripoli and he entrusted the area outside the city gates which he had built up, to his sister's son, Bertram, who was a brave and martial man. In this period [the city of] Aplast'an experienced great harassment from the Franks and, due to this wickedness, the Armenian people wanted to requite them with evil. So they made friendship with the Turks and secretly had them brought into the citadel. Then they called out to the military commander of the Franks, saying: "Take your troops and go, and may God be with you!" The military commander, enraged, attacked the citizens but the residents, with the aid of the foreigners, conquered and killed them. Not a single one of them was left alive. This happened, fittingly, because of the impiety of the Frankish people who had corrupted the country and made a ruin of it and, one might say, obstructed the worship of God in every place under their rule. Indeed, the flame of their wickedness rose higher than that of the infidels, since they did not leave anyone any silver or gold whatever. In the same year the [church of] Saint Sophia in Edessa collapsed, and once again the comet appeared. In the same year the Arabs arose from Damascus and wanted [g127] to rule Aleppo. Count Tancred attacked and killed some 15,000 of them and then returned to Antioch with the booty. In the same year Chokurmish, the emir of Mosul, and Chavli (Jovli) fought each other. Chavli was victorious. [Chokurmish] was struck by an arrow and perished after a few days. He had given over his land to Kilij-Arslan and also gave him Baudoin whom he was holding in captivity. Kilij-Arslan assembled troops and went and took over Mosul and Jazira and all of [Chokurmish's] lands. Before this he had gone to Edessa but, unable to take it, he went and captured Harran.

[59] In the year 556 A.E. [1107] there was a ferocious battle between the sultan of the West, Kilij-Arslan, and Chavli in the area of Mosul. Chavli defeated the sultan[*'s army*], killing Kilij-Arslan himself, while the survivors fled to Melitene. However his death occasioned great sorrow for the Christians, since he was a good and merciful man. He left four sons who ruled over his districts. In this year the Persian forces massed, some 12,000 men, and came over the Taurus Mountains, devastating the land of Anazarba. With innumerable captives and booty they crossed the plain of Marash and [g128] entered the country of Gogh Vasil, in the territory of Nukrakan. Hearing about this, Gogh Vasil assembled his troops and, like lion cubs, they sprang on them, putting them all to the sword. They took their spoil and captives and principals, and returned in great triumph to K'esun, giving thanks to the Lord.

In the year 557 A.E. [1108] the foreigners sought vengeance against Gogh Vasil. They assembled some 7,000 troops and during the harvest season came upon them, slaying the harvesters. With many captives they descended on the fortress called Hart'an. When Gogh Vasil learned about this, he prepared to fight against them with 500 horsemen and 1,000 infantry. The Armenian troops fought bravely, attacking the army of the foreigners. They urged one another on, those unbeatable warriors of Christ: Petros, the mother's brother of Gogh Vasil and Tgha Vasil [Kamsarakan] with a brigade of knights from his own clan, Aplasat' and Tigran with their troops. They poured the wrath of God upon the foreigners. They defeated and killed them, capturing their sultan and many emirs whom they drove before them into captivity. They rescued all the captives, joyfully returning home and giving thanks to the Lord. That same year Joselin ransomed Baudoin for 30,000 [g129] *dahekans*. Then he came to the Armenian prince, Gogh Vasil, who gave him a splendid reception and many gifts. Baudoin massed troops in Gogh Vasil's city of R'apan to fight against Sir Tancred. Baudoin and Joscelin wrought an impious deed by sending to the Tachik emir Chavli and bringing him in to help them with 7,000 horsemen. They initiated warfare with Tancred because of the districts which Tancred had seized when Joscelin and Baudoin were in captivity and which he did not return to them when they were freed. And not just for this reason. [60] For [Tancred] wanted to make both of them his vassals, [something] they rejected. Vasil added 800 of his own men and other troops were brought from the Byzantine emperor's forces in the city of Mamistra, making a numerous body. Tancred then came against them with 1,000

horsemen and 2,000 infantry in the territory of Tell Bashir. Thus Baudoin and Tancred fought each other, while the Persian troops cut down some 300 of Tancred's infantry. But as the battle intensified Tancred defeated Baudoin and put him to flight. Then he turned upon Chavli in fury, killing 4,000 of his men. Tancred returned in great triumph while Baudoin took refuge in his fortress of Ravendan (Arewe"ndayn) and Joscelin in his fortress of Tell Bashir. When the Edessenes learned about this they were plunged into great mourning, because they thought that Baudoin had died in battle [g130]. The citizens took counsel together by the *Papios* [bishop] at the Frankish church of Saint John in the interests of unity, since they were afraid that Tancred might come and that Edessa might be turned over to Richard who, in accordance with his prior custom, would ruin it. They all told the *Papios*: "Let your and our guards hold the citadel until it becomes clear who will be lord of the city." One day later Baudoin and Joscelin entered Edessa. When they heard about these [developments] they were extremely angry. Baudoin and Joscelin destroyed and committed acts of cruelty toward many Christians. They even took the city's bishop, Lord Step'anos, in order to blind him. But when the citizens learned about the man's innocence, they ransomed him for 6,000 *dahekans* and so freed him. Through such [acts of] injustice and false judgements did they conduct themselves, ravishing the belongings of innocent Armenians, Greeks, and Syrians.

In the year 558 A.E. [1108] Baudoin, count of Edessa, assembled forces and went against the city of Harran. Accompanying them was an Armenian prince, Aplasat', a brave and martial man. When they arrived there they commenced laying waste the countryside. But suddenly the Turks with 1,080 horsemen and 700 infantry came against them, killing some 150 Frankish horsemen. As the fight progressed the Franks wanted to flee. At that point Aplasat' roared like a lion [g131], shouted to his troops and struck a brigade of the foreigners, turning them back. The Franks returned to Edessa. When Aplasat' observed their conduct he turned around and came to Gogh Vasil from whom he had separated due to a dispute. In the same year Tripoli was taken from the Turks. Baudoin had been unable to take it, but had constructed a city opposite it. When he died he entrusted the city to his sister's son, Tancred, and the latter harassed it for eleven years with a siege. Subsequently they gave it to Tancred. But Bertram and the king of Jerusalem were opposed to this, since they wanted to possess it. The patriarch made peace between them and they returned to their own places. But the king of Jerusalem again made war against Tripoli and captured it. The Franks loaded up with its looted gold and brocade. [61] In the same year the count of Edessa wanted to fight as before with Tancred and sent to Maudud (Mamtut) to come to his aid. The latter willingly came with 100,000 horsemen and summoned Baudoin to come to him. But [Baudoin] was afraid to go. Maudud was enraged, thinking that he had been deceived by [Baudoin], and so he turned against Edessa in battle. When Baudoin saw this he sent Joscelin [g132] to fetch more cavalry. [Joscelin] went to the king of Jerusalem and found him encamped against Beirut. Now Maudud had besieged [the area] around Edessa for 100 days, putting the city in danger of starvation, as there was no way either of entering or exiting it. Then the king took Beirut from the Tachiks. Joscelin displayed numerous feats of bravery there. The king of Jerusalem and Bertram came to Tancred in Antioch, took all the Frank soldiers, and went to Gogh Vasil. Gogh Vasil and Aplgharip, the lord of Bira, followed after the king of Jerusalem with all their troops until they reached Edessa. When Maudud heard about this he arose from where he was and crossed to the other side of the city, while the Christian forces encamped before the gates of Edessa. The next day they prepared to fight, placing the holy cross on the highest of their standards and carrying it in front of the troops. Meanwhile the Turks had retreated to Harran, laying an ambush in front of [the pursuing] troops. When the Christians learned about this they did not continue the pursuit but turned about and descended on the fortress of Shenaw and battled with it. At this point Tancred heard rumours of a plot against him from some slanderers. He took his troops [g133], went to Samosata, and descended to the banks of the Euphrates. All the Frankish troops followed him. When the residents of the city and districts of Edessa saw this they went after the Franks, one and all. Two Franks then went to Maudud and apostasized Christ, and they told him that the Frankish army had fled. As soon as [Maudud] heard this he turned back after them and shed their blood from Edessa to the Euphrates. The Franks had already crossed the river and so were unable to help, since the broad river was between them, while the infidels were on the near side of the river and killed [fugitives] there. Maudud returned to his home with

many captives while the Franks turned back full of shame, since instead of bringing salvation to the Christians, they had brought destruction to them. In the same year the troops of the Turks assembled and penetrated the land of Anazarba, killing Christians in the district of Marpa. The Armenian prince T'oros, Kostandin's son, did not dare to engage them in battle, so they returned to their own land. In the same year there was a baleful omen in the district of Vaspurakan in the land of the Armenians, because blazing fire fell upon the sea of Vaspurakan [Lake Van] accompanied by great thundering. The fish in the lake perished and were heaped up on the shore stinking all around [the lake], and here and there the earth had been torn asunder.

[62] In the year 560 A.E. [1111] the aforementioned Maudud came with many troops and descended on [g134] [the fortress of] T'lkuran, which he captured. There were forty Franks there whom he killed. Then he took Go'tet'il and went to Saruj where many [fighters] flocked to him [including] the great emir Ahmad-II (Ahmatil), and Sukman, the emir of the East, son of Bursuk. They crossed the Euphrates and went to Tell Bashar, where Joscelin was situated, placing the fortress in dire straits. But they were unable to take it. Then Maudud and Joscelin became brothers. Mahdud went to Shaizar, close to Antioch, and Tancred mustered a large number of troops. He went to Baudoin, king of Jerusalem, and Bertram, count of Tripoli, and they encamped opposed each other at Shaizar. However, they did not fight. In the nighttime Maudud departed to his own land, and the Christians, to theirs. In the same year Emir Sukman died unexpectedly while on the road. In the same year vengeance [g135] was exacted on the murderers of the innocent [King] Gagik. [The killers were] three brothers, sons of Mandale'. They held a secure fortress, called Kendr'o'skawi, near Dzkujur River overlooking the land of Cappadocia. The first brother had made friendship with T'oros, son of Kostandin, and lord of Vahka, and had promised to give him that fortress, since it was on his border and the Turks were afflicting them greatly. T'oros went to them on a friendly visit, taking along his troops. They camped close to the place and [T'oros] sent to them to come out to him. At that point one of the three brothers took an expensive dagger, a robe, and [other] gifts and came and placed them before [T'oros]. Then, while they were eating and drinking, T'oros brought up the promise made concerning the fortress, and [the son of Mandale'] renounced that pledge, saying: "We cannot give it up, because it is our patrimony." When T'oros realized that he had been deceived by them, he responded: "Take your presents and go, and henceforth watch out for me." Before their eyes T'oros turned [as though he were going] home, but secretly, during the night, he returned. He laid ambushes around the fortress and then distanced himself with his cavalry. When day broke [the inhabitants of the fortress] came out, each going about his business. Suddenly they saw the ambushes and fled up to the fortress. [T'oros' men] pursued them, but [the fugitives] reached the fortress and closed the inner gate against them. But they were unable to close [the outer] gate. T'oros' infantry seized the gate and set fire to the fortress. The terrified inhabitants opened the gate on the other side and [g136] began to flee. T'oros' forces seized the fugitives and took the fortress. Then they went and informed T'oros who was greatly astonished and happily came and entered the fortress. He began to ask about the treasures, since the gold and silver of the entire district was stored there. T'oros said to the sons of Mandale': "Bring forth Gagik's sword and royal robe." They brought it to him. When T'oros saw them, he wept bitterly as did all the troops with him. Then he asked angrily: "Where is your treasury?" But they stubbornly refused to show him where it was. [T'oros' forces] began to torture them. One of them hurled himself from an elevation and died. [T'oros] started to torture the senior brother, who insolently told T'oros: "You are an Armenian man; we are Roman princes. What answer will you give to our emperor [for what you are doing]?" Transported into a rage, T'oros shouted: "You are the ones who killed Gagik, that mighty man who was anointed as king, who bowed to kiss you like a father and who loved you. What answer will you give to the Armenian people [about that]?" Then, seizing a club, [T'oros] attacked him and, weeping bitterly, began striking wildly until [the man] perished. And T'oros thanked God that he had been found worthy to take vengeance on those wicked men for the blood of the innocent Gagik. His own father's father, Ruben, had been one of King Gagik's princes. Then [T'oros] took many treasures of gold and silver and all their belongings, as well as the [surviving] brother and brought them to Vahka. He left guards at the fortress.

[63] In the year 561 A.E. [1112] Maudud came with his troops to Edessa and invested it. Count [g137] Joscelin took 100 horsemen and 100 infantry and entered Saruj on the feast-day of Elias. The foreigners allocated 1,500 horsemen and attacked Saruj. But Joscelin fell upon and killed 150 of them, additionally capturing 10 of their chiefs, while the rest [of the foreigners] fled back to their army. Maudud arose with all his troops and began a campaign against Saruj, but at that point Joscelin had secretly departed and entered Edessa. Simultaneously, some men from Edessa secretly went [to Maudud] and said that in exchange for gifts they would give the city into his hands. [Maudud] gave them numerous gifts, and then entered the city at night. Then Baudoin and Joscelin arose onto the wall with their troops and valiantly harassed the troops of the infidels, hurling them down from the heights, and emptying the city of the foreigners. Baudoin tortured to death many of the citizens, while Maudud returned to Khorasan in great disgrace. In the same year the count of Antioch, Tancred, massed troops and went against Gogh Vasil. He besieged Raban and took it, and then went against Kesoun. Gogh Vasil assembled his forces and brought other troops from the Persians to help him. He encamped opposite [Tancred]. But then they came to a peaceful agreement by which they each returned to the other the fortresses they had captured. Gogh Vasil gave up Hisn-Mansur, T'awre'sh [g138], Uremn, P'ersin, Raghtip, and Hart'an to Tancred, and [Tancred] returned to Antioch. In the same year Gogh Vasil died, leaving the Armenians in great mourning. All the remaining princes of the Armenians had assembled by him, and the patriarchal throne had been placed in his land. Lord Barsegh was his father-confessor as well as the trustee appointed by [Gogh Vasil] to establish his successor, Tghay Vasil, in his place. The latter had been nourished in his House like his own son, and was of the Kamsarakan clan on his mother's side. [Gogh Vasil's] burial was conducted with royal ceremony at Karmir monastery. They divided up many of his belongings and gave them, for his soul, to the poor and bereft and also [gave his property] to Tancred and his wife and to the other princes who surrounded him. Then Lord Barsegh held an assembly and seated Tghay Vasil on the throne. Everyone was pleased by this since [the son] was attractive in every way, physically and militarily. He was the son-in-law of Lewon, the son of Kostandin, and was married to his daughter. They were delighted and gave thanks to God. In the same year that valiant warrior of Christ, Tancred the lord of Antioch, died. He left the city to his sister's son, Roger (R'o'che'l), who was a brave and martial man.

[64] In the year 562 A.E. [1113] the impious Emir [g139] Maudud came to Harran. Count Joscelin and Baudoin were in Tell Bashir. Evil rumours reached him to the effect that the citizens had brought [Maudud] there with the intention of giving the city to him. [Baudoin] took these rumours as truth and resolved to ruin them. He sent Payens, the count of Saruj, to Edessa and ordered him to remove all the inhabitants of the city, burn it, and depart, so that no one would be found there. A spectacle of bitter weeping could be seen there as people were separated from their belongings and homes, with no one exempted. In one day they were evicted from the city and such a city [as Edessa] remained deserted, since everyone had departed for Samosata. At that time Maudud had passed from Harran to Jerusalem to fight against the king of Jerusalem. When Baudoin, lord of Edessa, learned about this he was ashamed of the unjust deed he had done, and ordered that all [the deportees] be returned to their homes. Maudud went and encamped against Tiberias (Tapar) [g140], while the king of Jerusalem sent and summoned the lord of Antioch, Roger, as well as the count of Tripoli to come to his aid; and both of them went willingly. Now it happened that the Jerusalemites wanted the victory solely for themselves, so they did not wait for the forces of Antioch and Tripoli, but instead made the attack. But because God was opposed to their pride, the Turks triumphed. A Turk was valiantly occupied [fighting] with the king and was striking his shoulders with an iron mace. But just at that moment Roger and the others arrived, saw the king's plight, and then brave Roger attacked and killed that valiant Turk with his spear. The man died instantly. The Christians grew stronger and they killed a thousand men of the Turks, while the rest fled. Then Maudud turned about and went to Damascus, planning to ruin Tughtigin, lord of Damascus. But when Tughtigin learned about this he freed from prison a Persian man who had been condemned to death, and promised him his freedom and gifts, and on the spot gave him 500 pieces of red [gold] if he would kill Maudud while he was praying in the mosque. This [assassin] himself was killed by someone else. The troops departed to their own land. In the same year in the month of Tre' the blessed patriarch, Lord Barsegh, died

through a tragic accident. He was in the village called Varderi [g141], near Antsanit', and was on the rooftop praying with his students when the house collapsed. No one was hurt except for Lord Barsegh who hit his back against a wall and broke his spine. He survived for three days during which he had himself taken to Shughri and seated Apirat's son, Grigoris, on the [*kat'oghikosal*] throne. [Barsegh] then died and was buried. After the death of Lord Barsegh, a multitude of bishops, *vardapets*, and priests assembled at Karmir monastery and anointed Lord Grigoris as *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians [Grigor III Pahlawuni, 1113-1166]. However he was under the tutelege of elders, since he was still a boy and did not yet have a beard.

[65] In the year 563 A.E. [1114] Tap'ar, sultan of the Persians, designated al-Bursuki (Brzux) as his military commander, gave his troops to him, and then [al-Bursuki] went as far as Edessa, taking the sultan's small son with him. They remained there for some days and then arose and encamped opposite Hromkla, destroying everything in its borders. Then they went against Bira. The Franks assembled on the far bank of the river and did not dare to cross over. Al-Bursuki left off and went on to Nisibis where he fought against Il-Ghazi and Balik (Xazi Palak) who defeated them and seized the sultan's son [g142]. But they freed him and returned to their own land. In the same year the ground trembled from God's wrath, on the night of the feast of the Discovery of the Cross in the month of Marer. There was a booming sound that issued from the depths of the earth. The sea also was agitated and the sea and land together presaged God's anger. Mountains and hills heaved and in places the earth was split asunder. In numerous cities the Christians were destroyed. Antioch, Mamistra, Hisn Masnsur (Harsnmsun), Aplast'ayn, R'apan, Samosata, and Marash collapsed and 40,000 people perished. At the Basilian [monastery] on Black Mountain *vardapets* and clerics had gathered in the church for blessing, and the church collapsed on them, killing 30 monks and two *vardapets*. Similarly among the Jesuits, the entire rank of clerics was killed, while the great *vardapet* [called] Mashkewor died at Vardku. In the same year the blessed *vardapet* Ge'org, who was nicknamed Meghrik, was translated to Christ in the land of Vaspurakan. He was a blessed, virtuous, and diligent ascetic who toiled for fifty years, spending every Sunday night in standing vigils, establishing the same practise among the blessed monks of Drazark [monastery] which had been rennovated by prince T'eodoros, son of Kostandin. The blessed *vardapet* [g143] established canons for them in written form which are in effect to this day. After a life of goodly deeds, he was translated to Christ and was buried there.

In the year 564 A.E. [1115] a frightful omen was revealed in the city of Amida, as fire fell on their mosque, burning the stone as though it were wood. The entire city went to put it out but could not, since it was not like ordinary fire. In the same year al-Bursuki came and took Shaizar and wanted to ruin the district of Antioch. The entire nation of the Franks assembled near Roger, count of Antioch, and Baudoin, king of Jerusalem. United with them were Muslims under Il-Ghazi, Artuk's son, and Tughtigin, the lord of Damascus and the emir of Aleppo. They came and united with the Christians and then they went together and encamped opposite [their foe]. Thus al-Bursuki did not dare to fight; instead, all of them returned to their own homes. Baudoin came to Antioch with Roger. As soon as al-Bursuki observed that they had all dispersed, he turned back and wanted to devastate the land of Antioch. Baudoin heard about this, took some 8,000 horsemen from Antioch, and went against al-Bursuki at night. He came upon him unprepared. Putting sword to work, he killed 50,000 of them, putting the rest to flight and capturing 80 emirs, and an incalculable number of goods, horses and mules.

[66] In the year 565 A.E. [1116] Baudoin [g144], count of Edessa, waged war against [Gogh] Vasil's son, going against the fortress of Raban and besieging it. Vasil went to his father-in-law, Lewon, son of Kostandin. T'oros seized him and sent him to Baudoin who mercilessly tortured him, and forcibly took all his districts. From that point onward, the rule of Armenians in that land ended. Vasil again went to his father-in-law, Lewon, and thence to Constantinople where the Byzantine emperor honored him and all his troops.

In the year 567 A.E. [1117] Baudoin, count of Edessa, and Galeran, count of Saruj, massed troops and went against the Armenian prince Aplgharip, son of Vasak and brother of Likos, who was a brave and martial man.

They possessed Nisibis and Bira, which they had taken from the Persian chiefs, and which had endured much harassment from Baudoin and Galeran. [Aplgharib] gave it to Baudoin and then went to T'oros in Anazarb. Thus did the Frankish counts harass the Armenian princes until they had removed them from their districts and fortresses. No one can relate the bitterness which the Franks displayed toward the Armenians.

In the year 567 A.E. [1118] Baudoin, count of Edessa, arose and went to Jerusalem to pray. Meanwhile the king of Jerusalem had gone [g145] to the land of Egypt, but was returning to Jerusalem as a fugitive. He became sick *en route* and died. He had given instructions that the count of Edessa be brought and established in his place [temporarily] until his own brother could arrive from France to become king. They brought his coffin and buried it in honor before Golgotha. When they saw that Baudoin had come to Jerusalem, they were delighted and reasoned that God had sent him there to hold the place of the deceased king. However [Baudoin] did not agree [to a temporary arrangement], rather he wanted the kingship outright. So they stipulated that he would be king if the [deceased] king's brother did not arrive within a year. And this was agreeable to everyone. A year later, as stipulated in the contract, they took [Baudoin] to the temple and anointed him as king of Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. This Baudoin was a scion of [one of] the grandee Houses of the Franks. [67] He was a valiant and martial man, having the proper Christian faith, and he was physically pure. But he was a wrecker of the land and greedy for wealth. Both of these homonymous kings of Jerusalem were from Edessa. In the same year, the sultan of Persia [g146], Malik-Shah's son, Tap'ar, died in shocking circumstances. For when he realized that he was about to die, he had his wife brought forth and killed in his presence, since he had a son from another woman. He suspected that she would marry someone else and kill his son, or that she would marry his brother, who was a sultan of the land of the Persians [ruling] in the cities of Uzgand and Ghazni, a three months' journey from Isfahan. Afterwards he placed on the throne his senior son, Mahmud, and gave him the land of the Persians. The younger son, a capable and energetic man named Melik, he placed over Gandzak, a city of the Armenians. In the same year Roger, lord of Antioch, went against the city of 'Azaz. He was accompanied by the Armenian prince Lewon, son of Kostandin, son of Ruben, with his troops. Roger battled for 30 days and but his troops were unable to penetrate [the city]. So the count told Lewon: "Tomorrow I am turning over [management of] the battle to you." [Lewon] accepted this gladly and encouraged his fighters who fought and killed [the enemy] up to the city gates. On that day Lewon acquired a reputation for bravery, and thereafter Roger was friendly toward the Armenians. Thus [Lewon] took the city and did not harm anyone. Then Emir Il-Ghazi and Roger, who had been friends, became enemies since Roger had broken an oath he had made with Il-Ghazi [g147].

In the year 568 A.E. [1119] Artuk's son, the emir Il-Ghazi, lord of Aleppo, massed an astonishing number of troops, since [many fighters] answered his summons due to his standing as leader of the Turks because of his clan. [Il-Ghazi] went with them to Edessa, enslaving and destroying the territory they passed through. They arrived at Buza'ah where they struck camp. Roger, confident of the strength of the forces with him, did not assemble [additional] cavalry nor did he seek help from anyone. Instead he took 1,000 Frankish horsemen, 500 Armenian horsemen, 400 infantry, and some 10,000 others, who were [merely assorted] rabble. The two sides engaged in battle. The Turks grew strong, trapped [their enemy] in their midst, and put all of them to the sword, killing Roger and laying waste all the Christians of the district through the sword, fire, and slave-taking. Baudoin, king of Jerusalem, assembled the remaining Christian forces and went against the Turks. The two sides clashed in battle, but both ended up fleeing. The foreigners lost some 10,000 men not only from the sword but from the suffocating heat, since it was summer. In the same year the Byzantine emperor Alexius died. His son, John [II Porphyrogenitus, 1118-1143] succeeded him. He was a good, moral man who did away with [g148] [the practise of] a second baptism [for non-Chalcedonian Christians] which his father had initiated. In the same year Baudoin, king of Jerusalem, gave Edessa and Tell Bashir to Joscelin and set him up as a champion against the infidels. Joscelin then became kindly toward Edessa. Baudoin at that time was king of Jerusalem, Antioch, and all the coastal regions.

[68] In 569 A.E. [1120] Il-Ghazi took his troops and crossed the Euphrates and enslaved [the territory] from Tell Bashir to Kesoun, mercilessly killing, enslaving and burning. At that time Joscelin was in the territory of Raban. He massed his forces and fell upon the Turks, killing 4,000 of them. Then Il-Ghazi descended on 'Azaz. The king of Jerusalem and all his troops arrived there as did Joscelin. However they did not fight. Instead, both Turks and Franks returned to their own homes.

In the year 570 A.E. [1121] Emir Il-Ghazi, who was from the land of Gandzak which bordered on Georgian territory, took his troops and entered the land of Georgia, carrying off some of the folk into captivity. David [the Builder , *Aghmashenebeli*, 1089-1125], king of the Georgians, secretly attacked and slew all 40,000 [g149] [of Il-Ghazi's forces], carrying off to his own land his House, son, and all their belongings. The survivors went off to the Persian sultan Melik, Tap'ar's son, and related to him the miserable things that had befallen them. [Melik] ordered troops to assemble from all the territories under his sway, [and he summoned] the ruler of the Arabs, called Sadaqah (Sagha). They gathered some 150,000 men and entered the land of the Georgians in the Tiflis area. King David, son of Deka, son of Bagarat, son of Gorge', also mustered his troops and brought in 40,000 Qipchaq cavalry, 18,000 Alans, 500 Franks, and 10,000 Armenians. They were valiant warlike fighters. Taking all of them, he went against [the enemy] and began to fight. A frightful spectacle unfolded on that day. Through God's aid the Christians triumphed, killing 400,000 men and capturing 50,000, while Sultan Melik and Il-Ghazi escaped by a hairsbreadth. The [Georgian] king returned joyfully. In the same year he took Tiflis from the Persians through warfare, causing a frightful slaughter and hanging 500 men.

In the year 571 A.E. [1122] Il-Ghazi went against the Franks, encamping in [g150] Shaizar. Then Baudoin, king of Jerusalem, arrived followed by Count Joscelin. [The two sides] encamped facing one another for many days, but did not fight. Instead, all of them returned home. Emir Balik went to his district of Handzit. Joscelin and Galeran caught up with him in the district of Edessa at [the village of] Tap't'il, with 100 horsemen. Balik had encamped in an area traversed by a river and surrounded by swamp, and remained there securely with 800 horsemen. Now the Franks attacked them, but were unable to advance through the swamp. Meanwhile Balik and his troops shot at them with arrows and were the victors. They captured the two counts, Joscelin and Galeran, and took and imprisoned them in Kharberd, causing great mourning among the believers. In these days Artuk's son, Il-Ghazi, died and the [office of] *aspasalar* was given to Balik. [Il-Ghazi] also entrusted [to Balik] his House and sons, Sulaiman and Timurtash, whom he took to Mayafariqin.

[69] In the year 572 A.E. [1123] Baudoin, king of Jerusalem, stirred up a war with Balik because of the two counts he had imprisoned. He arrived at Raban, while Balik had arrived earlier and was ravaging the district. They did not know [g151] about each other's arrival. With few troops, the king reached the bridge at Snche'. He wanted to cross the river and encamp at a place called Shnjrik. Now it happened that Balik and his troops were hiding in ambush near [the place] where the king had pitched his tent. The king wanted to go hunting with a falcon. At that moment Balik attacked the king, captured him, and killed his troops, also seizing the king's sister's son. Balik took the king to the gates of Gargar which he took from him. Then he took them to Kharberd and put them in prison close to Joscelin and Galeran. During the same year an event occurred which was truly remarkable. Fifteen men got together in Behesni, arose and went to Kharberd where they clandestinely discovered the place where the prisoners were being held. They observed that the guards of the fortress were few and negligent, so they went to the fortress gates dressed in plain clothing, as though they were claimants. They also had some plotter working on the inside of the fortress. Putting their lives at risk, they killed the guards, closed the gates, and ran to the prison with a great clamor. They freed them and many other men who were in chains. Then the prisoners rose up and took the fortress and ruled over the House of Balik. When night had arrived Joscelin and one follower went off to Kesoun and thence to Antioch to collect troops and then come to the king's aid. At that time [g152] the praiseworthy Geoffrey was count of the Franks. Emir Balik was then at Aleppo. When he heard this news he quickly arose and reached Kharberd in fifteen days. There he erected a catapult and demolished a large tower on the wall, terrifying [the residents]

who then surrendered the fortress. Balik killed some 65 of the prisoners, hurled 80 beautiful women from the wall, and put the king, Galeran, and the king's sister's son, back into jail in iron chains. Then Joscelin and Geoffrey arrived to help the king, but, learning about what had happened, they turned back sadly and full of shame. In the same year a war of the birds took place in the plain of Melitene. Storks, cranes, and bustards assembled and battled, with the cranes triumphing. In the same year the great *vardapet* of the Armenians, Po'ghos Taro'nets'i, reposed in Christ and was buried at the monastery of Ghazar near Sasun. In the same year the sultan of Gandzak came with a great force and, creating a [g153] bridge over the Kur River, transported 60,000 men to the country of Abkhazia. King David sent numerous troops and burned the bridge and slaughtered the men who had crossed over it, while the sultan departed in disgrace. King David was a warlike man who took many places from the Persians [including] Tiflis, T'manis, Shirvan, Shak'i, Shamk'or, and numerous other fortresses and districts. He was a blessed person and a stout-hearted warrior. The remaining forces of the Armenians gathered around him. He built a city named Gor'a for the Armenians in the land of the Georgians and established churches and many monasteries there. [David] had a son named Demetre' [Demetrius], a very tall man, who was born of an Armenian woman.

[70] In the year 573 A.E. [1124] Balik came with many troops against the city of Manbij, erected [war] machines, and harassed [the residents]. The emir who was inside the citadel sent to the Frankish counts to come to help them and promised to give the city to them. They assembled troops and quickly departed. Mahuis, count of Duluk, and Harry, count of Tell Bashir and Raban, came to them. Balik went against them in battle. The Franks were defeated and fled [g154]. Sixty horsemen were killed while the counts took refuge in Tell Bashir. With great delight Balik turned upon Manbij and put them into dire straits through warfare. While sitting in his cups, he had removed his armor. At that point an arrow struck and killed him. [Before dying] he summoned Emir Il-Ghazi's son, Timurtash, and gave his authority to him. Then his troops scattered. His destruction was a cause of joy for all Christians. At that time the king of Jerusalem and Galeran, and the king's sister's son, were in prison in Aleppo. Joscelin and the queen made an agreement with Timurtash to ransom the king. As a security they gave over the king's daughter and the son of Joscelin, as well as fifteen other hostages and 100,000 *dahekans*. Thus they freed the king from captivity, giving joy to all the believers. Galeran and Timurtash remained at Aleppo. [Timurtash] did not free the other [hostages]. This was the second time that Baudoin was freed from captivity due to the efforts of Joscelin. In this year the Armenian prince Michael harassed [the city of] Karkar with warfare and took it, as well as Bibol. In the same year the Georgian king, David, killed many Muslims and took the Armenian capital city of Ani, which had been in the hands of the foreigners for sixty years. He removed the son of Manuch'e' [from Ani] and took him to Tiflis. Then the great and holy cathedral church [of Ani] was consecrated a second time by bishops and priests, since it had been turned into a mosque. And there was great rejoicing [g155] among the Christians. In the same year a duke came from the Franks [the doge of Venice, Domenigo Michieli, 1117-1128] with many troops. He encamped near the city of Tyre and afflicted it with a siege. [The defenders], in desperation, sought an oath allowing them to depart unharmed; and the duke complied. They surrendered Tyre and went to Damascus unharmed. The duke gave the revenues of Tyre to [support the maintenance of] the Sepulcher of Christ, then he returned peacefully to his own land. In the same year the king of Jerusalem and Joscelin, count of Edessa, went against Aleppo with their troops. The chief of the Arabs with his troops also came to assist Joscelin, as did the grandson of Tutush, [and] the lord of Melitene, who was Kilij-Arslan's son. There was a great review at Aleppo and they harassed the city greatly. So the citizens sent word to the Persian *aspasalar*, al-Bursuki, to come to their assistance. He gathered his forces and reached Aleppo after six months and cleared away [the Crusaders]. Thus all of them returned to their homes and no one was injured. In the same year Ghazi came against Melitene and harassed it for six months and then captured it. The ruler of Melitene, who was the wife of Kilij- Arslan, went to the Christians in Marash.

[71] In the year 574 A.E. [1125] al-Bursuki, the *aspasalar* of the Persians, came with many troops and encamped against 'Azaz, scorning [g156] the Christian forces. He erected 12 catapults and, digging under the walls, caused two of them to collapse. At that point [Baudoin], the king of Jerusalem, arrived with 30,000

troops and descended to [the city of] Cyrrhus (Kuris). Then with full military preparation he went and entered 'Azaz. Meanwhile al-Bursuki turned around and came to 'Azaz with his troops. He besieged it for three days, putting it into grave danger since there was nothing to eat. Then the king mulled things over and said to the princes: "Let us arise and pretend to be going to al-Atharib (T'erep) as though we were fleeing. When those who are in ambush spring out against us, we will attack them in the name of God." He gave instructions to [his men in] 'Azaz: "When they all come out after us, send up a smoke signal." Then the king went with all of his troops [as though] going to al-Atharib. Thinking that he was fleeing, [the enemy] all went in pursuit, while the fortress [guards] sent up a smoke signal. At that point the king and his troops called on God to help them and then attacked the Turks, putting them to flight and pursuing them. They killed 35,000 men and returned to Cyrrhus with great victory. Al-Bursuki and Tughtigin departed full of shame, while the Christians rejoiced. After some days al-Bursuki took the king's daughter and Joscelin's son to Qal'at Ja'bar (Xlat' Chapar) and he himself went off to Mosul. After one year [g157] the sheikhs killed him with a dagger in his own house. His attendants killed 80 of the sheikhs. In the same year the Persian emir Ibrahim (Prehim), son of Sokman, took 80,000 troops and went to the land of Georgia where King David slaughtered them worse than before. In the same year the God-loving King David reposed in Christ and his son, Demetre' [Demetrius I, 1125-1155, 1155-1156], occupied his throne. He was a valiant and martial man and returned Manuche's son to his city of Ani. [The latter] swore many oaths that he would remain loyal and obedient and by a great oath he confirmed that the great cathedral church at Ani would always belong to the Armenians.

[72] In the year 575 A.E. [1126] Bohemond, son of Bohemond, came to Jerusalem with numerous troops from [the land of] the Franks. He married the daughter of its king who promised that following his own death, the kingdom would be given to [Bohemond]. [The king of Jerusalem] gave him Antioch and the land of the Cilicians. Then Bohemond got all the Frankish peoples to submit to him. He was a youth of only twenty years, tall, attractive, blond, and brave-hearted; and quite a large number of folk had followed him from the Frankish lands [to the Near East]. Thus did Bohemond become the prince of Antioch.

In the year 576 A.E. [1127] the blessed *vardapet* Kiwrakos passed to Christ. He had been with [the *vardapet*] Meghrik and the two of them had assembled ranks of monks at Drazark [g158] and had initiated the renovation of the blessed congregation. They were both buried there.

In the year 588 A.E. [1128] the Persian *aspasalar*, Emir Zengi, son of Aksungur [al-Bursuki] who previously held Aleppo, came with many troops and descended into the territories of Edessa. He established friendship with Joscelin, count of Edessa, and also sought friendship with Bohemond. Then he took his troops and went to Damascus. In that year Tughtigin, lord of Damascus, died and his son ruled the city. In that same year the Persian sultan Mahmud, the son of Tap'ar, died. He had held Gandzak.

In the year 578 A.E. [1129] T'oros, son of Kostandin, died and his brother Lewon held his principality.

In the year 581 A.E. [1132] Lewon, son of Kostandin, took the Cilician cities of Mamistra, Adana, and Tarsus. The Frankish people attacked him. By their wicked behavior they devoted themselves to wrecking the country.

In the year 582 A.E. [1133] the Armenians took Egypt one day before the eight day feast of Christmas (?)

In the year 584 A.E. [1135] Ruben's son, Lewon [g159], took the fortress of Sarvantikar causing great discord between Lewon and the Franks. Lewon and his sister's son were on one side while the king and the Antiochene cavalry were on the other, together with other impious [folk]. They ruined the land and captured Christians in incalculable numbers.

[73] In the year 585 A.E. [1136] Baudoin, lord of Marash, routed Ruben's son, Lewon, and three months later Bohemond, lord of Antioch, seized Lewon. Then Lewon's sons turned against each other and, seizing their

brilliant brother Kostandin, blinded him. Bohemond, after two months, took Lewon's sons as hostages, plus 60,000 *dahekans*, plus [the cities of] Mamistra, Adana, Sarvantikar, and then he released Lewon to return to his home. In the same year the Byzantine emperor Porphyrogenitus [John Comnenus] arose and took Xalich, Anazarb, Vahka, Amayk' Tsaxut, and many of their other fortresses. He also took the wife, sons, and daughters of Lewon. Lewon himself came to the emperor and was sent to Constantinople in fetters along with his family and the icon of the Mother of God. The emperor [g160] came to Cilicia in person for a year and six months, going as far as Aleppo and Shaizar, but displaying no [acts of] bravery.

In the year 587 A.E. [1138] Ahme't Melek' came and took Vahka, Kapan and other areas of Lewon's from the Romans.

In the year 588 A.E. [1139] Lewon, Ruben's son, died in Constantinople.

In the year 589 A.E. [1140] Porphyrogenitus [John Comnenus] once again came against the areas of upper Pontus and Caesarea, and the inhabitants of the Taurus [Mountains], taking refuge in him, rebelled from the Turks. However when the emperor departed, [these people] were left unaided and ended up fleeing here and there, and Lewon's country remained a ruin. In the same year a certain one of the horsemen of Count Mah[uis] of Duluk held a grudge and stole Aintap from Joscelin. Having held it for one year, it was returned to the prince with the intercession of the count. In this period Lord Grigoris, the *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, was residing in the small fortress of Tsov'k', within the confines of Duluk, which the blessed patriarch had purchased from the prince of Antioch, together with 15 villages around it for 60,000 *dahekans*. He came and settled there with the brothers of Lord Nerse's, students, all the appointments of the blessed [patriarchal] throne, and all his kinfolk.

In the year 590 A.E. [1141] the blessed patriarch, Lord Grigoris, went to the holy city of Jerusalem. He went to the [Papal] legate and they discussed [g161] doctrinal matters with each other, and whatsoever the blessed patriarch stated, [the legate] happily agreed with and revealed to all the Franks. And everyone respected him on the feast of holy Easter.

[74] In the year 592 A.E. [1143] the Greek emperor, Porphyrogenitus [John Comnenus], came to the land of Cilicia. In the area near Anazarba he went out to hunt some game. Coming upon a wild boar, he planned to shoot it with an arrow. But when he placed a poisoned arrow to the string and pulled the bow back fully, the arrow snapped, piercing his left hand. He died from the strength of that poison. Removing his organs, the princes buried them at a place called K'aghrdik, while the deceased's body was taken to Constantinople. His son, Manuel (Ker' Manil) [I, 1143-1180], a good God-loving man like the first blessed emperors, succeeded him. In this same year Baudoin, king of Jerusalem, died and his [g162] son occupied his throne. In the same year the noble *sebastius*, *paron* Het'um, lord of Lambron, died. His son, O'shin, ruled his principality.

In the year 593 A.E. [1144] the prince of Antioch was Bohemond, son of Bohemond. Although he had a powerful and gigantic physique, he lacked the brains to accompany it. Baudoin then was lord of Kesoun and Marash as well as [ruler over] many districts in the confines of Melitene as far as the gates of Antioch. Joscelin was the count of Edessa, lord of Tell Bashir, Hor'omklay, Peria, and Nzeqi. In that period Zengi, lord of Harran, mustered troops and, finding an opportune moment when Joscelin was not present, he came and encamped near Edessa. He erected [siege] machines and harassed the city. Encouraging each other, the men of the city did battle with him and [the enemy] were unable to take the city. But then [the enemy] hatched another wicked plan: they dug deeply at the bases of the wall and replaced the rock pillars with wooden ones, doing this in many spots. Next they filled grass into the excavated areas, set fire to it, and caused the wall to collapse. Then they fell upon the city. The citizens [were able to] protect their rear. But [the enemy] secretly went around to the other side of the city and were able to enter it over the wall. Putting swords to work, they slaughtered them. Hearing the clamour [the guards] left off protecting the damaged wall and then [the enemy] entered [from that side also]. Then the citizens fled toward the citadel, but the impious citadel guards

[g163] shut its gates and did not allow anyone to enter the citadel, while the infidels mercilessly cut them down with their swords. No tongue can relate the bitterness which descended upon Edessa on that day. The blessed patriarch Nerse's wrote a heart-rending lament about what befell Edessa on that Saturday, the third day of September.

In the year 594 A.E. [1145] a lad named T'oros escaped from Constantinople. He was one of the sons of Lewon, son of Kostandin, son of Ruben, whom they had taken in chains to Constantinople with his House and sons. [The lad] T'oros escaped and reached the confines of Vahka in the Taurus Mountains. He disguised himself so that no one recognized him; then, intelligently, little by little, he attracted to himself capable men from among the clerics and lay folk. For he was a man who was learned and versed in theological writings, and he was also very capable in warfare. Physically he was broad-shouldered, tall, handsome, curly-haired, awe inspiring, and full of grace. With the aid of God he gradually came to rule over his patrimony, taking [g164] Vahka, Amoudain, Simanagla, Ar'ewtsberd, and other districts.

[75] In the year 596 A.E. [1147] Joscelin, count of Edessa, went secretly to the confines of Edessa, taking along with him Baudoin, lord of Marash. They went at night and stole the city and entered it. But after five days the infidels massed against it, commenced battle, and retook the city, killing Baudoin, lord of Marash. Meanwhile Joscelin and others escaped by a hairsbreadth. There was great mourning among the Christians because of Baudoin[s death], since he greatly loved the Armenian people. Lord Barsegh wrote a letter of lamentation about Baudoin and sent it to his districts, so that reading it, the people would weep. He also confessed all his sins to God on Baudoin's behalf, beseeching the Lord for forgiveness. Now in the same year the impious Zengi went against Qal'at Ja'bar boastfully because of his capture of Edessa. However God Who [g165] opposes such [people] did not allow him to endure, for while he was harassing the fortress and [subsequently] had gone to sleep, one of his attending eunuchs killed him in his bed. His son, called Nur-ad-Din, took over his principality.

In the year 597 A.E. [1148] Bohemond, prince of Antioch, was killed by the forces of Nur-ad-Din, Zengi's son, due to his arrogance. In the same period the [number of] chiefs of the [European] Christians declined and others did not arrive; there was only Joscelin. And thereafter the battle against the Christians by the infidels intensified on all sides, and they were in great crisis.

In the year 598 A.E. [1149] Mas'ud, sultan of Iconium [Mas'ud I, 1116-1155], came against the city of Marash in the month of September, and, finding it empty [of defenders], he captured it. He caused much bloodshed in the country of Tell Bashir, took captives, and looted. At that time Joscelin was at Tell Bashir, but did not dare to go out against him. Thus Mas'ud returned to his own land unharmed. Now the Armenian prince Vasil, brother of Lord Grigoris, wanted to take bread to Gargar to help the fortress [g166], and so he took as auxiliaries Joscelin's remaining troops, some 400 men and approached Gargar. Kilij-Arslan [Kara Arslan], lord of Handzit', fell upon them and arrested them all. Then he took them before the fortress and demanded [the surrender of] the fortress. Vasil's wife and sons, after securing an oath, gave up the fortress. The sultan sent them in great honor as far as Samosata accompanied by his trusted men, and gave the country to him as though he were a beloved brother. After this the remaining troops of Joscelin dispersed like sheep without a shepherd, for on all sides they encountered God's punishment for [their] sins. Thus as Count Joscelin was heading toward Antioch at night, he happened to turn aside from the road a while to fulfill a call of nature, while his comrades continued on. As he was pursuing them to catch up, he struck a tree and fell from his horse in pain. The horse took off and fled from him, and [Joscelin] remained sprawled out there until morning. His comrades knew nothing about this during the night. In the morning shepherds came and took him to Aleppo, where he was put into prison.

[76] In the year 599 A.E. [1150] once again Mas'ud, sultan of Iconium, came and captured Behesni [g167], which [the residents] surrendered to him without a fight. He likewise took Kesoun, Raban, and P'arzman.

Thence he came to Tell Bashir and besieged it, but was unable to accomplish anything because the count's son [Joscelin III] was there with capable fighting men. So instead [Mas'ud] wrecked the country and went off with the spoil. When the blessed patriarch of the Armenians, Lord Grigoris, observed just how weakened the power of the Christians had become and when he saw that they had no fortress to take refuge in, he was frightened to remain in his fortress of Tsovk'. So they planned to go to the king of the Georgians in the East, since Ani was in his hands and perhaps there they might find peace and a true refuge from their enemies. He left behind his brother, Lord Nerse's, until he himself could go and return, and then they would go with all their kinfolk and belongings. Now as Lord Grigoris was traveling, it happened that he went to Tell Bashir where Joscelin's wife was. She inquired of the blessed patriarch the reason for his journey to the East, and he told her. But that lady prevented him from journeying, [instead] giving him the impregnable fortress of Hor'omklay as a residence. The blessed [g168] patriarch was delighted at this and so he returned to his brother, Lord Nerse's, in Tsovk' and explained to him the reason for his return, as well as the promise made by Joscelin's wife about Hor'omklay which would be the seat of the Armenian patriarchate. When Lord Nerse's and the others heard about this, they were all delighted, since they were greatly frightened by the infidels. Thus, taking all their belongings and kinfolk, they went to Hor'omklay and secured themselves from fear of the infidels. After a period of time they gave Joscelin 15,000 *dahekans* for the purchase of Hor'omklay. Count Joscelin gave to Lord Grigoris and to Lord Nerse's a document written in his own hand [stating] that Hor'omklay would remain the seat of the Armenian patriarchate in perpetuity. And they placed this document in a chest at the blessed see as a reminder for the future, so that no one would come seeking after that fortress. May the Lord grant that what was established in that physical document regarding that place be confirmed spiritually as well.

History [from the start] of the year 600 A.E. [1151]

[77] In the year 600 A.E. [1151] on the 23rd day of the month of Nawasard, red snow mixed with ash fell. And Nur-ad-Din, the lord of Aleppo, came against Tell Bashir with his troops. Because [the residents] had no hope of aid from any quarter, they accepted a pledge from him that they would [be allowed to] go unharmed to Antioch. They gave Tell Bashir to Nur-ad-Din and went to Antioch in peace. In the same year Lewon's son, T'oros, took Mamistra and Tell Hamdun from the Romans and seized Duke T'uma. Duke Andronicus (Andronike') who was charged with protecting the land of the Cilicians by order of the Byzantine emperor, came to the city of Mamistra with 12,000 cavalry against T'oros. And he boasted, shouting out to T'oros: "Behold your father's iron chains. I will take you bound in them to Constantinople, like your father." When valiant T'oros heard this, he was unable to bear the insult. Instead, placing his trust in God, he assembled his forces, breached Mamistra's walls at night, and attacked [the Byzantine troops] like a lion, putting them to the sword. Among those who died in the great battle before the city gates was Smbat, lord of Paper'o'n. Among those captured were the lord of Lambron [g170], O'shin, the lord of Bardzrberd, Vasil, and the lord of Pr'akan, Tigran [all of whom were] on the side of the Byzantine emperor. [T'oros'] troops seized and despoiled the weak Byzantine forces and then let them go. Then did T'oros rule over Mamistra and all the other districts which he held without a care. O'shin, lord of Lambron divided the cost of his ransom, 40,000 *dahekans*, into two parts: he gave 20,000 *dahekans* [in cash], and gave his son, Het'um, as a hostage in place of the other 20,000 *dahekans*. And thus did he free himself and went to his own home. So Het'um came to T'oros as a hostage and was greatly liked by him, for he was attractive, aware, and composed. T'oros sent to O'shin and proposed to establish marriage relations: T'oros would give his daughter to Het'um and the 20,000 *dahekans* would be her dowry. O'shin agreed to this and had Het'um baptized—for up till then he had not been baptized—made him a knight, and married him to [T'oros'] daughter, all on the same day. And they rejoiced exceedingly.

[78] 602 A.E. [1153]. After this victory which T'oros had achieved, the Byzantines were furious with him. So they went to the sultan of Iconium, Mas'ud, with numerous gifts, saying: "Eliminate T'oros, his clan, and all the Armenians." Mas'ud was bribed by the many gifts. He arose and went against T'oros. Now T'oros took his troops and went into the mountains in advance of them. When the foreigners saw this, they were astounded at his boldness. The sultan then sent [a message] to T'oros saying: "I did not come to ruin [g171] your country or to make war against you, but rather so that you listen to me and return to the Romans the territories you took from them. Then we will remain friends." When T'oros heard this he was pleased and made this reply: "We will willingly submit to you as king, since you did not envy our advancement. However, it is impossible to return those lands to them." When the sultan heard this, he did not press him. Rather he established friendship with an oath and returned to his own home.

In the year 603 A.E. [1154] once again the Byzantine emperor Manuel sought to stoke Mas'ud and he sent him twice the amount of treasure as previously, saying: "Quench the burning of my heart toward the Armenian people, destroy their fortresses, and exterminate them." So the sultan came to Anazarba with many troops, but he was unable to accomplish anything. He sent one of his grandees, named Ya'qub (Aghup), to ravage the territory of Antioch. When they had crossed [a place called] the gate [Pylae Syriae, Passus Portellae], [soldiers called] the Brothers [knights Templar], as though sent by God, swooped upon them at that place and slaughtered all of them, including their chief. When those in the sultan's army heard about this, they were horrified [g172]. This was not all, for the wrath of God was visited upon them. Their horses perished from tapax [diahorrea] and they themselves turned to flight, brother not waiting to help brother, nor comrade, comrade. They hamstrung many of the horses and fled on foot through difficult, marshy places, as though they were persecuting themselves. For at that time T'oros was not in his country. Rather, he had gone to Tsets. When he returned and saw what had unfolded everyone thanked God, for they had been defeated without the use of weapons and without a physical battle.

In the year 604 A.E. [1155] Mas'ud, the sultan of Iconium, came to T'oros' country and again encamped against Tell Hamdun. Once again God's wrath came upon them, because although it was summer, there was a great deal of thunder and lightning, and winds so fierce that trees were torn up by their roots. Terrified by this awesome display of anger, everyone took refuge in God. After three days God took pity and the heaven and earth became calm. Once again embarrassed, Sultan Mas'ud returned to his home. After this he lived another ten months and then became sick with a fatal illness. He enthroned his son, Kilij-Arslan, who was called Machat because of a deformed hand, and then Mas'ud departed this life and was buried in Iconium. He had two other sons, one being more generous than the brother who had become [g173] sultan. Because of suspicions, the sultan had him strangled. The younger brother, frightened, fled to Gangra and Ankara. [The sultan] not only killed his brother, but also those grandees whose loyalty to himself he questioned. Now Yaghi-Basan (Aghup Aslan), son of Emir Ghazi, and lord of Sebastia and the land of Aleppo, did not approve of him. He came with his troops to Lycandus and made ... [word missing] the inhabitants of his land, and kindly settled the Christians on their land. When Sultan Kilij-Arslan heard about this he came to battle with him, but through the intercession of his advisors, the Danishmands, the two groups of Muslims did not fight.

[79] In the year 605 A.E. [1156] Yaghi-Basan secretly came to the district of Jahan, [to its town of] Aplast'a, kindly removed the population from the land and took them to his own district. For this reason Kilij-Arslan again came against him to fight. They encamped opposite each other. But that caliph [?the Danishmend] established friendship and peace between them, so that the two groups of Muslims would not fight.

In the year 606 A.E. [1157] T'oros' brother, Stefane', Lewon's son, motivated by his wicked nature and without his brother T'oros' knowledge, arose with his brigade of troops and started to successfully retake [certain] districts [g174]. He took Kokison and Berdus. Sultan Kilij-Arslan and T'oros had friendly relations with each other and Stefane', as we said, took these [areas] without T'oros' consent. Owing to this disturbance, Kilij-Arslan came to the district of Kokison and pacified everyone, in no way blaming the inhabitants. Thence

he went to Berdus, while T'oros, out of affection for the sultan, tricked his brother and surrendered Berdus to the sultan, against Stefane's wishes. The sultan in turn, because of his affection for T'oros, freed the inhabitants of the fortress unharmed. Then Stefane' attempted to steal Marash, but could not. In Behesni lived a Christian-hating chief who greatly harassed the Christians. For that reason, those who had been oppressed by him wanted, in their united multitude, to kill him while he was in the bath and to give the fortress to Stefane'. Stefane' was concealed with his troops near the confines of the fortress and waited there. But one of the plotters went and revealed the matter to the chief. Roaring with anger, [the chief] ordered that all [the conspirators] be hurled down from the fortress [walls]. When the Christian inhabitants of the fortress saw this, they took refuge with Stefane'. He took all of them, with their wives and children and led them to the plain of Anazarba, settling them in Tupna where [many] died from the heat. Now it happened that Sultan Kilij-Arslan had a genuine fondness for T'oros. He sent an emissary to Jerusalem and Antioch to T'oros, and again strengthened that friendship with an oath. Valiant T'oros displayed [g175] other acts of valor. The prince of Antioch, Renaud (E'r'naght) [de Chatillon], at T'oros' urging and together with T'oros himself, organized ships and sailed to the island of Cyprus. Seeing [the Cypriots] negligent and unprepared, they attacked them as though they were foreigners, ravaging cities and villages, and leaving them stripped of their belongings, and insulting them. [80] They lopped off the hands, feet, and noses of many noteworthy men and clerics and left them like that and departed. T'oros did this because of [the treatment of] his innocent father who had been taken to Constantinople in chains together with T'oros himself, his brother, Stefane', his mother, and sisters. His father had died there in prison. T'oros and his brother Stefane' had fled secretly and had come [to Cilicia] and ruled over their patrimony. [T'oros] also recalled the Armenian princes who had been deceitfully taken to Constantinople, impaled on iron spikes while still living, and hanged on the gates. He also recalled the hanging of Gagik by the sons of Mandale' and many other events [g176]. Now the king of Jerusalem in this period gathered the Brothers [Templars] and all the ranks of Christians and went and besieged Askalon. They put [the city] into dire straits with fighting and then took it on the feast of the Assumption of the blessed Mother of God. But they did not harm the inhabitants in any way. Later, however, they uncovered some treachery directed at themselves and they destroyed them. In the same year Nur-ad-Din, lord of Aleppo, went and ruled over Damascus. He sent many treasures to the king of Jerusalem and the prince, and they made peace with each other. In the same year Nur-ad-Din came to Aintap and captured it. From there he sent emissaries to Raban and other surrounding areas for them to surrender without any fighting. But out of fear of Sultan Kilij-Arslan they did not want to give [the territories] to him. So [Nur-ad-Din] left them for a while.

In the year 607 A.E. [1158] the king of Jerusalem, [Baudoin III, 1143-1163], wishing to establish marriage relations with [the family of] the Byzantine emperor Manuel, sent envoys to him. [Manuel] gladly agreed and sent the daughter of his father's brother to him as a wife. [She was sent] in the company of trustworthy men with numerous troops and great splendor, and he promised to come to the assistance of the Christians in person, which he did without hesitation.

In the year 608 A.E. [1159] Emperor Manuel assembled as many as 800,000 troops and came to the city of Mamistra in the land of the Cilicians, where he wintered. T'oros, Lewon's son, distrusted him, so he secured his wife, sons, and treasures in the fortress of Tachikk'ar [g177], while he himself circulated around in difficult and swampy places in the depths of the Taurus Mountains where he awaited the arrival of the king of Jerusalem [thinking that the latter] would come and mediate peace between himself and the Byzantine emperor. This was because T'oros was very frightened over the damage that he and the prince of Antioch had inflicted on Cyprus. For the prince had already gone to the emperor and laid all the blame for this on T'oros. Then the king of Jerusalem and the cross-adorned Brothers [Templars] and all the Christians came to Emperor Manuel and pleaded that he reconcile himself with Lewon's son, T'oros. [81] They praised him before the king as a wise, savvy, skilled, and forceful man of war, valiant and deep, who saw to all the needs of the Christians, who was generous and full of all goodly qualities. The emperor pardoned T'oros' crimes for them and eagerly desired to see him. So they sent to T'oros [urging him] to come before the emperor. When

Emperor Manuel saw him he rejoiced at his comely appearance. God gave grace to T'oros before the emperor who greatly blamed those who had slandered him. After remaining with the emperor for a few days, [Manuel] ordered him to return to his own home and quickly return to the [imperial] army. T'oros returned home, collected what provisions the troops would require—sheep, oxen, cattle, boars, and fine horses—and brought them and presented them as gifts to the emperor. The emperor was delighted [g178] with T'oros' generosity and praised him before everyone. He pardoned him in his heart for what he had done to the Byzantines. And then the king of Jerusalem, the prince of Antioch, the sebastius T'oros, and the Templars planned to save the Christians. Setting forth in all their numbers, they came and encamped near Antioch. Although the king of Jerusalem and the other grandees encouraged the Byzantine emperor to strive for the salvation of the land of the Christians, and although he had made such a promise to them, he had done so without sincerity or conviction. For [the emperor] planned to enter Antioch not to accomplish what was right, but to satisfy his perverse and lustful desire for women. He wanted to take a wife from among the daughters of Bohemond, lord of Antioch. He went and saw that she was to his taste and did not reveal his intentions to anyone. At that time the king of Jerusalem was Baudoin who was an extremely pious giant of a man. [The emperor] gave very great gifts and crowned [Baudoin] with a royal diadem, [giving him] costly garments, and decorating a royal palace which he filled with all [sorts of] vessels of gold and silver and appropriate furnishings, and he gave it to him as a gift. He also gave very substantial gifts to his princes. One of the princes there, named Phillip, made some memorable remarks about this. For when the emperor had sent him three [large] measures of gold and expensive [g179] garments, he was grateful and praised the king, but [Phillip] remarked to those who had brought them: "Tell your king that we did not come to you for treasures and clothing, but for the salvation of the Christians. If it is your intention to effect that, then we will give our treasures and all of our troops with all of our belongings in service to you. And wherever the battle will occur you will see just what brave soldiers you have and then you [should] distribute your gold to those of your [people] who are in need. But if you do not do as we requested and as you promised to do, that is, to save the Christians, then your gold is of no use to us." Next they began to delineate how they would enter the city. They adorned the gates of the city and all of its walls and sent the royal banner and erected it at the summit of the citadel. Then they designated troops and commanders to secure the city gates and the streets, and filled the entire center of the city with troops. [82] Then the king rode in on a horse arrayed in golden royal garments and adorned with a crown whose precious stones glittered and gleamed like the stars. Troops were arranged on his right and left sides as he calmly advanced. The king of Jerusalem went before him crowned with a diadem and mounted on a horse, while the lord of Antioch, due to his lesser station, went before him on foot. And with such great ceremony did the Byzantine emperor Manuel enter the city of Antioch with Baudoin, king [g180] of Jerusalem. The emperor rode along into the city, reaching the blessed Temple and the Apostolic throne of Saint Peter where he worshipped, and then he went to his own lodgings. Now when the amirapet of Aleppo, Zengi's son Nur-ad-Din, heard about such an assemblage of Christian kings, he became frightened, and out of fear he gathered all his forces and prepared for battle. He placed military commanders everywhere and then hurriedly crossed to the other side of the Euphrates River. After a few days the emperor sent an emissary to Nur-ad-Din and wrote edicts, demanding as borders from him the districts of Antioch, and Edessa and its confines, [territories] which he had seized from the Christians. He also demanded [the return of] those prisoners from the clans of the principal Christians who had been forced into prison. Now when the amirapet of Aleppo saw the emissary and proclamation of the emperor, his fear and dread subsided. For [Nur-ad-Din] was an astute and intelligent man and recognized the limits of [the emperor's] military power, and that he was making his demands not with sword and spear, but with parchment and ink. Consequently he replied that he would never do [as the emperor] wanted and if [the emperor] could, he should effect [his request] through force. When the emperor of the Byzantines heard this, he summoned all [his advisors] to council to determine what response to make. The king of Jerusalem and the lord of Antioch, and all the princes fell at the feet of the Byzantine emperor Manuel and said: "Oh emperor, do not transform such joy as we now have into sorrow. For the enemies of Christ are horrified at our unity. Thus if you [g181] make peace with them without a fight, the name of Christian will be completely removed from the land and, scorned by the enemy, the Christian peoples will be considered of no account and an object of ridicule." [The emperor] made significant excuses

[and said]: "There is a disturbance [threatening] my throne, and therefore I want to quickly return [to Constantinople]. I can mend matters there and return [here]." Everyone was thrown into the deepest despair. They pleaded with him, saying: "Go against Aleppo for just three days, and then make peace with them, if you choose." But Manuel did not heed their entreaties nor did he want to do good to the Christians. Rather, he sent to Nur-ad-Din and made peace. When the infidels heard about this, they were stunned at the unexpected turn of events, since all of them were envisioning their own destruction. They realized that they had been spared destruction without bloodshed or battle, and in their delight they did not believe that it was true. Nor did they know what sort of response to make, since they thought that [the emissaries] had been sent for espionage purposes. [83] But the emissaries confirmed the truth of the matter. Once they had verified things, they sent to him many treasures and worthy gifts, horses and fine mules, as well as 50 of the Christian captives. And then Manuel, the goodly emperor of the Byzantines, who had come there like a powerful lion returned like a weakened fox. And he departed with such a huge multitude of cavalry like a fugitive and reached the land of Sultan Kilij-Arslan. The Turkmens fell upon [g182] those at the rear and killed some 12,000 men. Thus a great conflict arose between the emperor and the sultan, and T'oros remained at peace. Now Nur-ad-Din, the lord of Aleppo had previously given Harran to his brother, Miran. At this time he heard that [his brother] was plotting against him, and so he wanted to kill him. Thus did he send numerous treasures to the king of Jerusalem and established peace with him for four months. Then he went with his troops against his brother in Harran, which he took after two months along with Edessa and R'akka and their surrounding territories. Then he went to the country of Sultan Kilij-Arslan and took Raban and P'arzman, Kesoun, Behesni and Marash and then descended on Hor'omkla. While encamped there, news reached him from Damascus that the peace arrangement had collapsed and that the Templars and the Franks were ravaging his country. So he arose and went to Damascus and assembled numerous troops. He wanted to fight with the king of Jerusalem. The king of Jerusalem also assembled all the military commanders of his Christian forces and remained until winter when they made peace with each other. Then both [sides] returned to their own homes. Similarly Sultan Kilij-Arslan and Yaghi-Basan made peace with each other. During the same period the son of Count [Joscelin] was taken captive to Aleppo. In the same year the lord of Xlat', Mush, To'ghutap', Mantskert, Miran, son of Emir Ibrahim, sent [g183] his son with many troops to the land of the Georgians, to Tsets. Now the forces of the Georgian king Gorge' had massed to invade the country of Xlat'. The two sides clashed in the district of Uxtik'. The Georgians were triumphant, putting [their enemy] to flight and killing some 10,000 Turks. They also seized 300 of their chiefs. However, the sparapet [commander-in-chief] of the Georgians was killed. The others returned to their land joyfully.

[84] In the year 610 A.E. [1161] Gorge', king of the Georgians, came against the city of Ani and took it in one day through battle, killing some 1000 Armenians and Turks. He left 2,000 men there as guards, and then returned to his own land. Now the lord of Xlat', the [Danishmendid] Shah-Armen, assembled 80,000 cavalrymen, brought them to Ani, and besieged it. When King Gorge' heard about this, he came against them in fury and wiped out [almost] all of them, seizing 6,000 of their principals. Out of that enormous multitude only 10,000 men were able to save their lives and escape by a hairsbreadth, empty-handed. King Gorge' loaded up with their spoil and joyfully returned to his own land. In the same year [g184] the lord of Antioch, Prince Renaud (E'r'naght), took 1,000 cavalry and infantry and came to the fortress of the Kat'oghikoi, to Tsovk' in the district of Duluk, and spread about taking captives and looting the tent-dwelling Turkmens. Now Majd-ad-Din, lord of Arewe"nd, who was Nur-ad-Din's second [in command], had previously assembled 10,000 men and concealed them in an ambush. He sprang out and killed them all. Seizing the prince and 30 cavalrymen, he took them to Aleppo with many insults. He notified Nur-ad-Din in Damascus about this, since he had massed there. As soon as [Nur-ad-Din] heard the news he ravaged all the districts of the Christians as far as Tripoli. Then he descended upon Harim. However, the king of Jerusalem and T'oros, Lewon's son, were in Antioch, and so he did not dare to remain there. Instead, he turned back. Nur-ad-Din went and took Arzghan by oath, pulling down the dwellings and taking captives to Aleppo. In the same year Sultan Kilij-Arslan came to Emperor Manuel in Constantinople, bringing along Nur-ad-Din's brother, Miran, and he made

an agreement with the emperor to be friendly toward him for the rest of his life. Then he went back to his own land, laden with many gifts [g185].

[85] In the year 614 A.E. [1165] Step'ane', Lewon's son and the brother of the sebastius T'oros, was slain through the treachery of an impious Byzantine duke. [This occurred] in front of [the fortress of] Hamus in the land of Cilicia. They had called [Step'ane'] there in friendship. Then, seizing him, they subjected him to a cruel death, crucifying him on a sycamore tree. The godless Byzantines would not spare [even] such a valiant warrior. [Step'ane'] had two sons, Ruben and Lewon. Now his brothers, T'oros and Mleh, enraged at this act of treachery, exacted a thousandfold vengeance for the shedding of his innocent blood, and that duke was responsible for [the shedding of] their blood. In the same year the Georgian king Gorge' came to Duin with his troops. [The defenders] came against him in battle, and Gorge' destroyed them causing them to flee into the city. The king's troops pursued them and destroyed all of them. [The Georgian troops] set fire to the city, completely looted it, and then departed. In that period Lewon's son, the conquering T'oros, displayed his valor and held [secure] those parts of the Taurus Mountains over which he ruled. Now his brother, Mleh, was a malicious and treacherous man, and planned to kill his brother, T'oros. Getting together some others of the same tendency, one day while they had gone out to hunt [g186] deer, Mleh wanted to slay his brother there [at a place] between Mamistra and Adana. But T'oros had been forewarned. He furiously seized Mleh and interrogated him before the troops and the princes as to what he was hoping to accomplish. They reproached Mleh in their presence and he was shamed. Then [Mleh] gave [to T'oros] much of the inventory of his authority, horses, mules, weapons, and treasures. And they removed him from his district. Thus he received nothing in exchange for his wickedness. So [Mleh] arose and went to Nur-ad-Din, lord of Aleppo, and entered into his service. [Nur-ad-Din] gave him [the city of] Cyrrhus and its district. The wife of Step'ane', whose name was Rita, was the daughter of paron Smbat, lord of Paperon, brother of O'shin, ruler of Lambron, and the sister of Bakuran, who ruled Paperon following the killing of his father Smbat by T'oros' troops, as we mentioned earlier, at the gates of Mamistra. [Rita] took her children and went to her brother, Bakuran, at Paperon, where she settled and nurtured them. She was a pious, wise, and God-fearing woman. Vasak, a brother of Bakuran, was lord of the keep of Askur'os, Lamo'so, and those parts. Bakuran, lord of Paperon, was a good and generous man, well-disposed toward everyone, a lover of God and man. May his memory be blessed. Bakuran and Vasak had another brother, named Halkam, and Vasak was the father of the senior paron [g187].

In the year 616 A.E. [1167] Lord Grigoris, who had grown extremely old and had held the patriarchate according to God's will for 54 years, as though under the influence of the Holy Spirit, [decided] to hold an assembly of bishops, yardapets, abbots of monasteries, and many [other] blessed men. [At this assembly] he ordained his renowned brother, Nerse's, to the Armenian kat'oghikos throne. Nerse's [accepted] with great reluctance, as he had rejected the honor, regarding himself as unworthy of the divine calling. He wrote many spiritual hymns for the church and administered the patriarchal throne according to God's will. He was a blessed man adorned with all good qualities and arrangements, virtuous and filled with all manner of learning and grace of the Holy Spirit. He resembled a river which flows with abundant streams, for none of the previous patriarchs had been like him. And none of his successors were either, up until our own time. The reputation of his learning reached the Byzantine emperor Manuel who requested from him [an account of] the confession of the Armenian church. [Nerse's] wrote this. When the emperor, the patriarch, and all the Byzantine savants saw this [document], they amiably approved of the orthodox confession of the Armenians. [The emperor] then sent a certain philosopher, named T'o'riane', to Hor'omkila [g188]. [T'o'riane' and Nerse's] spoke with each other for many days, and when [T'o'riane'] returned to the emperor he told him about the blessed man's fathomless knowledge and complete virtuousness. Roused by the account to affection for the blessed patriarch, the emperor sent again to effect friendship and unity between the two peoples who had been divided from each other through the influence of evil. However this blessed work [of uniting the churches] remained unfulfilled owing to the death of the blessed patriarch Nerse's.

[86] In the year 617 A.E. [1168] the great T'oros died. He was the son of Lewon, son of Kostandin, son of Ruben, who bravely held [his] area of the Taurus Mountains, displaying acts of bravery in numerous places and having won many battles through his wisdom. May the Lord have mercy on him. As he was dying he designated prince T'umas as an administrator for his small son, Ruben. He ruled T'oros' land for one year.

In the year 618 A.E. [1169] T'oros' brother, Mleh, took aid from Nur-ad-Din, lord of Aleppo, and came with many Turks to the country of Cilicia. He mastered the principality of his brother and the Turks took much loot and booty. Showing vengeance to those who opposed him, he pillaged and despoiled them, put them into prison and fetters, arrested the bishops, and pulled out their teeth. Wherever he suspected that gold [g189] or silver existed, he seized it. He disgraced honest, modest women and polluted with loathesome prostitution and shameless lust. He filled up with gold and silver and wallowed in the luxuries of the innocent people he had despoiled. He had a bestial mentality, [and was] wicked and merciless, and everyone hated him and wanted to get rid of him. But they did not find an opportune moment.

In the year 619 A.E. [1170] on June 29th a severe earthquake occurred which caused the walls of Antioch and Aleppo to collapse. It also demolished the church named for the blessed Mother of God, and many people were killed. Now once Mleh ruled over his brother's principality, T'umas fled to Antioch. And they sent the lad T'oros to the patriarchal see at Hor'omkla, to the kat'oghikos, where he died. O'shin's son, Het'um, who was married to T'oros' daughter as we mentioned earlier, highly respected [T'oros] during his lifetime and did not dare to do anything. But after the death of his father, he sent and removed himself [from Mleh]. As a result, Mleh was enraged. He went with his troops and besieged Lambron and inflicted great distress on its inhabitants. For a long time the Rubenians and the Het'umians had held a grudge against one another. And this became yet another cause for conflict between them. Consequently [Mleh] fiercely afflicted them with warfare and famine.

[87] In the year 622 A.E. [1173] on the 16th of August the blessed illuminator patriarch, Lord Nerse's, passed to Christ leaving the Armenian churches in great mourning. He had written in his will [g190] urging the enthronement of his senior brother Vasil's son, the archbishop Lord Grigor, nicknamed Tgha. Doing as [Nerse's] had ordered, an assembly of many bishops seated him as kat'oghikos of the Armenians [Grigor IV Tgha ("the lad"), 1173-1193]. Lord Grigoris was a man of gigantic stature and awe-inspiring appearance, with a happy face and a generous soul, full of wisdom and learning and divine grace, brilliant and sagacious in speech and style, and learned in the Old and New Testaments. And with [these skills] did he adorn the blessed [kat'oghikosal] throne in the temple which was erected in the name of Saint Gregory. He adorned it and made it glitter with sacred vessels of gold and silver, and vestments sewn with gold [thread]. He made the blessed temple so resplendent that none of his successors, though they melted down the gold and silver items, were able to reduce [the majesty of the church]. He also made three crypts in the temple and placed in them the remains of the blessed patriarchs Grigoris and Nerse's and their predecessor, Grigoris Vkayase'r, which he brought from the district of Kesoun to the Red monastery. He lived in a royal manner [dispensing] great sums and generous gifts, and keeping a sumptuous table. In this year Nur-ad-Din, lord of Aleppo, died and his son, Malik Saleh, occupied his throne.

Now after five years of Mleh's rule, in the year 624 A.E. [1175], his princes hatched an impious plot. They [g191] united together and killed him in the city of Sis because of his disruptive ways. Then they sent to Paper'o'n and summoned Stefane's son, Ruben, in order to seat him on the throne of his ancestors. He immediately sent his sister's brother, Bakuran, with many gold and silver treasures. Then Ruben came and ruled his patrimony, and the Armenian princes gladly submitted to him [Ruben III, 1175-1186]. He was a young man of thirty years, benevolent, generous, and attractive, brave in battle and a skilled bowman. He began by generously giving gifts to everyone and started to distribute the treasures that Mleh had accumulated to the needy, and with a bountiful table he inclined everyone to him, heart and soul. Wherever he went with them, he bravely pushed back the bands of the enemy, thus taking Mamistra, Adana and Tarsus. At

the commencement of his rule he gave very great gifts to his princes in thankful gratitude for what they had done by killing his father's brother and establishing him in the place of his ancestors. He promised further good things to those who had actually slain his uncle, if he could determine who they were. Two men, deluded by their stupidity, came forward and said: "We killed him with our own hands out of love for you." And [Ruben] was extremely thankful to them. But [later] he ordered that rocks be attached to their necks and that they secretly be thrown into the river. Their names were Jahan and Aplgharib (who was a eunuch). Once Ruben had [g192] consolidated his rule he began to harass [the fortress of] Lambron with battle and siege for three years. And he put them into dire straits owing to the old rancor which [the Rubenids and the Het'umids] had between them. But he was unable to accomplish anything.

[88] In the year 625 A.E. [1176] Sultan Kilij-Arslan of Iconium defeated the Byzantine emperor on the other side of Iconium, before the ruined fortress called Melitene. He seized the emperor and again left him, having established friendship with him through an oath and treaty.

In the year 626 A.E. [1177] Manuel [I Comnenus, 1143-1180], emperor of the Byzantines, died and his son, Alexius [II Comnenus, 1172-1180] was seated on his throne.

In the year 627 A.E. [1178] Andronicus arose against Alexius, killed him, and ruled in his stead [Andronicus I, 1182-1183, 1183-1185].

In the year 629 A.E. [1180] Andronicus was slain and Angelus ruled [Isaac I Angelus, 1185-1195].

In the year 630 A.E. [1181] paron Ruben went to Jerusalem with much expense, took as a wife the daughter of the lord of K'arak', and then returned. His brother, Lewon, distrusting him due to the slander of some evil people who had told Ruben that [g194] Lewon was going to rise up against him, went as a fugitive to Tarsus and thence to Constantinople. Divine power protected him there and he received much honor and affection from the emperor.

In the year 631 A.E. [1182] Lewon returned from Constantinople and came to his brother, Ruben, who received him with affection and gave him the fortress of Kapan. Now Ruben occupied himself fulfilling his lascivious desires and so he went to Antioch to the prostitutes. Prince Bohemond seized him and put him into prison, while those princes who were with him escaped by a hairsbreadth and went to their own homes.

This had occurred in the year 634 A.E. [1185]. Ruben sent to his uncle Bakuran for him to send hostages to the prince in place of himself, so that he could go and get the ransom for himself. Bakuran sent his sister and Ruben's mother and others of his relations. Ruben agreed that his ransom would consist of [the surrender of] Sarvandikar, T'il, and Chker in addition to 1,000 dahekans. The prince released him, he came to his own country, delivered up what he had agreed to, and secured the release of the hostages.

[89] In the year 636 A.E. [1187] Ruben died and his brother, Lewon, ruled the principality. He was a benevolent, ingenuous man without a grudge toward anyone, who took his refuge in God and guided his principality accordingly. He was a wise, brilliant man, a skilled horseman, brave-hearted in battle, with attention to human and divine charity, energetic and happy of countenance. In this period Aleppo [g194], Damascus, and Egypt were ruled by Yusuf (Yuse'), son of Ayyub, who was called Saladin [Salah al-din]. They were two brothers from the district of Dwin, sons of a Kurdish peasant named Ayyub, one was named Yusuf and the other, 'Adil (Ye'tl). They left their country on account of drink, and went into the service of Nur-ad-Din, lord of Aleppo. He pitied them and gradually had mercy on them, and they served him devotedly. Day by day they advanced until they achieved some power. Whatever came to them they shared with everyone, food and drink, and for this reason they were liked by everyone. And they came to rule with great authority over extensive lands. Saladin was a rough and warlike man who began to grow hostile toward the Christians. He grew stronger by the day, and through his clever cunning he pulled apart and destroyed the

united strength of the Christians throughout his realm. In this year Saladin went against the king of Jerusalem. The king and the Franks of the coastal areas, the count of Tripoli, and the Frères with their cross-emblazoned clothing, came together and encamped against Saladin. The Frankish troops were encamped on a hill and the infidels threatened their water [supply]. Well the God-denying [g195] count of Tripoli sent to Saladin, saying: "What will you promise to give me if I relocate the Christian army to a waterless place? You and your troops could go and encamp where you have control over the water." And [Saladin] promised him numerous treasures and confirmed it in writing. So the impious count began to advise the king and the chiefs, saying: "It is not convenient for us to remain here. Rather, let us arise and encamp in a mountainous area where we can secure our flanks." He convinced all of them to accept his devious plan. As soon as the Christians moved, the sultan encamped above the water [supply], and the Christians thereafter were unable to drink the water. They were in dire straits and in crisis and were unable to find a way out [of their difficulty]. Hopelessly they applied themselves to battle, preparing to die. Once assembled on the battlefield, the impious count of Tripoli detached his brigade from the Christians, and that broke them. Facing death they engaged in battle and, as the battle lengthened, the Christians were defeated, with man and beast prostrated from thirst. It was extremely dry and hot, and the hands of the infidels were strengthened, and they killed everyone. At that time the king and others of his forces were secured on the summit of a hill. [The king] asked the sultan that he be taken to him. [The sultan] immediately sent and had him brought forth. [90] When the [g196] king arrived in the sultan's presence, [the sultan] knelt and prostrated himself before the king, embraced and kissed him, took him by his hand and led him into the tent, seated him on a cushion, and himself sat humbly before him. [Saladin] said: "Blessed king, a thousand welcomes. You have entered the home of your brother. Be not saddened, for such is the nature of military activities, sometimes to be defeated, and sometimes to defeat [others]. You are a just, righteous, and oath-keeping monarch, and I am pleased at your behavior. Therefore, I will not take a hair from your head, and because of you I will display great mercy and free many." While they were so engaged, Renaud, prince of Tripoli was brought before him, and the king got up when he saw him, and the sultan also arose because the king had done so. Renaud, prince of Tripoli, greeted the king and the sultan said to him: "Oh faithless one, I did not arise for your sake, but because of your king." And the prince replied: "And I am not grateful to you, but to the king." Then the king requested water, and the sultan ordered that a golden goblet be brought containing water mixed with rose water and snow. The sultan took the goblet and drank some of it first, so that it would not be suspect, and then he offered it to the king. The king took it and drank half, then gave it to the prince of Tripoli who also drank. The sultan said to the prince: "I did not give it to you to drink, rather to your king." And the prince replied to the sultan: "I do not thank you, but the king." Then the sultan said [g197] to the prince: "Faithless one, how many times have you sworn [oaths] to me and given me written assurances, and then not kept those pledges you made me? Instead, you engaged in slave-taking and killed a great multitude [of people]. You took my treasures on the road to Damascus, and caused much bloodshed in Ser'sim, and did not remember your pledge. Now what answer will you give me?" The prince responded to Sultan Saladin: "Don't bark so. I did your bidding, and I took vengeance for [events] which occurred 40 years ago when my [people's] blood was shed by the Muslims. Henceforth I will give nothing for my death." The sultan signalled his attendants and they bound [the prince] hand and foot before the sultan. He unsheathed a sword of steel, threw it onto [the prince's] back, and the attendants immediately killed him. When the king saw this, he was greatly saddened. The sultan said to him: "Be not saddened over the loss of one unfaithful to you." Then they brought in the Frères with their magister and set them before him. And the sultan said to the magister: "Oh honorable chief of your brothers, although you have killed many of our troops, I like you because of your bravery. Now, apostasize your faith and convert to our religion, and I shall give you gifts and honors, and I will rank your men, and especially you, higher than all my grandees." The magister replied: "Oh great sultan, I will gladly do your bidding, if you order that I may speak with my brothers and urge them all to comply." And [Saladin] gave such an order [g198] and told him: "If you do my bidding you shall live, but if you do not heed me, you will perish by the sword." [91] Then the magister assembled everyone and said: "Oh, brothers, lo the days of the salvation of our souls have arrived by which we shall inherit the kingdom. I beseech you to remain united and indivisible in the love of Christ. Today let us mingle our blood with His saving blood. Do not fear the killers of the body, but rather the ruler

of the soul and the body, and let us, transitory beings, not obstruct our [spiritual] greatness." He said many other things to them from sacred writings, and urged them to die for the same faith. Then he went before the sultan and said: "There are those who will comply with your commands and those who are opposed. Order them brought before you." When they had come in, [the sultan] began to question them one by one and those who did not agree [to become Muslim] he ordered killed. Then he said to the magister: "And how do you look upon our faith?" Then the magister filled his mouth and spit into the sultan's face to infuriate him and cause him to slay him immediately so that he could join his spiritual sons. [The magister] said to the sultan: "I urged all of them to choose death in order to achieve the supreme life. Why should I be the one to do your will?" So the sultan ordered that he too be killed. And when they killed him, a heavenly light descended upon them for three days, to the shame and disgrace of the unbelievers and to the pride of the believers. When this had occurred, the sultan freed the king with many gifts and also those who were with him. Then he ordered that each of the Jerusalemites [g199] give him one Egyptian dahekan, take what he needed from his home, and depart in peace. Those who wanted to remain there would provide one red dahekan. Many remained, and many arose and departed. And Saladin took control of Jerusalem and its [surrounding] district, and gradually he took the entire coastal area and the district of Antioch, and all the Christians trembled out of fear of him. In the same year a certain Turkmen named Rustom (E'r'e'stom) massed countless numbers of Turkmens and entered the land of Cilicia, threatening to eliminate the name of Christianity. He went as far as Sis and encamped opposite the city of R'awin, covering the face of the earth with his innumerable multitude. Then the divinely-strengthened Lewon fought with him with 30 men and immediately downed their leader, Rustom, while the rest took to flight. [Lewon's forces] pursued and killed them as far as Sarvandikar. They say that Saint Ge'org and Saint T'oros, physically visible to the eye, descended from the fortress of Sis and killed [the Turkmens].

In the year 637 A.E [1188] the noble prince Sir Baudoin, the constable, was killed at the fortress of Pr'akana which he had gone to capture. Two months later Lewon took Pr'akana through theft, and killed the chief of the fortress, Emir Tip'li, who had slain Baudoin, as well as 200 [g200] Turks. In this period the sons of Choruanil of Sasun, sons of the sister of Lord Grigor, kat'oghikos of the Armenians, were with Lewon. They were attractive men. Lewon gave to the senior one, Het'um, the eldest daughter of his brother, Ruben, named Alice. He also gave them the city of Mamistra and to [the brother] Shahnshah he gave [the city of] Selewkia. Phillipa, the younger daughter of Ruben, was with Lewon's mother. Lewon also took for a wife the daughter of the brother of the wife of the prince of Antioch, whom the woman willingly gave [in marriage]. Lewon gladly took her since he feared the prince and had always distrusted him and felt that having a wife who was the prince's relative would preserve him from any wickedness on the prince's part. And indeed, this turned out to be the case.

[92] In the year 638 A.E. [1189] the king of the Germans [Frederick Barbarossa] arose with many troops and came to Constantinople. He passed [the city of] Iconium and captured it, and destroyed the forces of Kilij-Arslan. Kilij-Arslan gave him as hostages 30 of his principals and 100,000 dahekans and made friendship with him. The emperor went as far as Selewkia. Since the summer was extremely hot, the king went into the river to bathe but was overwhelmed by the volume of water, for he was an old man. And he drowned there. It is said that in advance of this it had been foretold him that he would die in the water, and for that reason he had undertaken such a lengthy journey by land. Now his son [Frederic de Souabe] went as far as Acre, and after six [g201] months he died there. His troops dispersed and departed.

In the year 640 A.E. [1191] the king of the Franks came to Acre in ships with many troops and besieged [the city]. Since that city belonged to him, Saladin arrived there as well; and he encamped opposite them. The Frankish army dug three trenches (xandak) around them and strongly secured themselves behind iron-tipped plates. Thus did they place the city into dire straits, and the sultan was not able to aid the citizens. At that time the king of the English (E'nklizats') came to Cyprus and took it from the Byzantines, seized Duke Comnenus and brought him to Acre. United, the two monarchs battled valiantly against the sultan and against the

citizens. Then the sultan sent to the kings saying: "Take the city for yourselves, but sell the people for their weight in gold and silver." They responded: "We should do that for your honor, but we have sworn before the blessed tomb of Christ that we would put all of them to the sword, and we cannot break our oath." So they took the city and slaughtered 36,000 men, and Saladin fled.

In the year 641 A.E. [1192] there was a severe famine whose bitterness no one could describe in writing. For [the living] were unable to bury such a multitude as had died [g202], and they even envied those who had died earlier. When springtime arrived, [the people] grazed on the grass, like sheep, and fell sick and died from the unsuitable food. In the same year Sultan Kilij-Arslan died in Iconium. Then Saladin began harassing great Antioch in order to take it. Astrologers told him that he would not be able to rule it, so the sultan abandoned the idea. Antioch was troubled by hunger, since food was not entering out of fear of the sultan. The men of the city said to the prince [Bohemond III, 1163-1201]: "Behold, we will die of hunger. What shall we do?" The prince replied: "Wait 15 days for me, and I will give you an answer." Then the prince arose taking five horsemen with him and went to Saladin who was then encamped opposite the city of Acre (Akka). He reached the door of his tent and said to the door keepers: "Tell the sultan that the prince of Antioch is here and wishes to see him." As soon as the sultan heard this, he quickly went before him, led him into the tent by the hand, and respectfully [wanted to] seat him. And [the prince] said: "I have a request to make of you, and will be seated if you grant it." [The sultan] answered: "What you are requesting will be granted. Say what it is." The prince spoke: "I request that you grant me Antioch." The sultan replied: "I grant that. And further, I will give three months' worth of food to you and the city." [Bohemond] made complete friendship [with the sultan] and returned to Antioch, and the city filled up with plentitude and food.

[93] In the year 642 A.E. [1193] when [g203] the prince had returned from Saladin, he plotted with his wife to seize Lewon. [She] said: "Do not work such an iniquitous deed, because he is my son-in-law, and always serves you gladly and assists you in military matters." But [the prince] did not abandon his wicked plans, and sent summoning him. Lewon arose and went to Baghras, and the prince's wife secretly informed him about the plot. Lewon sent to the prince asking him and the princess to come to him at Baghras so that he could honor them and then they could go to Antioch together. They came willingly and Lewon went out before them to honor them and bring them into Baghras. He seized the prince there and had him confined in the citadel at Sis, carefully guarded. In the same year Sultan Saladin sent [an emissary] to Lewon [telling him] to give the country of Cilicia to him, and he himself could go away unharmed. Lewon was frightened and did not know what to do. Placing his faith in God, he said to the emissary who had been sent to him: "Tell the sultan that I have no country to give to you, but that if you come to my country I will give you a double-edged [sword] to swallow, as I did to Rustam, your coreligionist." When the sultan heard this response, he growled like a lion and prepared his forces to come to the country of Cilicia to exterminate the believers in Christ. He came as far as Seaw (Black) River where he became ill and perished. His son, named Malik Zahir (Melik Tahr), sat upon his throne. In the same year on May 16th, the kat'oghikos of the Armenians, lord Grigoris, passed to Christ in the land of Cilicia, and was buried at Drazark. His throne was occupied by the son of his sister, lord Grigoris, who was called Vahram [Grigor V K'aravezh, 1193-1194] [g204] and was still a lad. In the same year [a number of] noble princes died—sons of the sister of the kat'oghikos Het'um, the son-in-law of Lewon and his brother's daughter, Alice, and Het'um's brother, Shahnshah. [94] The uncle and the nephews died in the same year. It was said that Lewon was the cause of their deaths, but only God knows the truth of the matter. When Grigoris became kat'oghikos he did not display the same obedience to everyone as previously when he was under a tutor, rather he ruled the patriarchy in a willful manner, as his mother's brother wished. When the most senior men envied him, they sent to Lewon and said: "He lacks the appropriate wisdom to hold the patriarchate." And they added to this whatever [other charges] against him that they wanted. They did this once, twice, and three times until they inclined Lewon to their will. He sent the archbishop, lord Yohanne's, to the fortress of Horomkla to effect his will. [Yohanne's] went before the kat'oghikos with respect and was glorified as a guest and relation. While they sat at table during mealtime, [Yohanne's] through arrangement with his attendants, had the gates of the fortress closed and a clamor stirred

up. The patriarch was terrified and asked lord Yohanne's: "What is this that I hear?" And [Yohanne's] replied: "You have been seized." Arresting him, they put him into confinement, and made matters more secure with guards. When the rumor of this spread about outside the fortress and within, everyone came armed to the citadel to aid their patriarch. For three days they shot off arrows but were unable to accomplish anything, and then they calmed down. Lord Yohanne's took the condemned patriarch [g205] and brought him to Lewon. They temporarily imprisoned him in the fortress of Kopitar. Now the residents of Hromkla were agitated by the unjust condemnation of their patriarch and secretly sent to him to prepare his escape from the the fortress. They had prepared horses and had got the lord of the fortress [to agree] to take him and his throne. However [the kat'oghikos], childishly [mis]interpreting their words, took linen and hanged it out at night to descend from the fortress. The linen [rope] broke and he fell to his death. They took and buried him at Drazark, close to the tomb of his mother's brother. This occurred in the year 643 A.E. [1194].

In the same year they enthroned as patriarch lord Grigoris, called Apirat [Grigor VI Apirat, 1194-1203], a wise and learned man who was the son of a general, the brother of the kat'oghikoi lord Grigori and lord Nerse's. He was quite elderly and had reached old age in goodly stewardship. Now when Lewon had seized the prince, he put him into confinement for some days. When the royal prince Henri [Comte Henri de Champagne] came from Acre he requested him as a favor from Lewon, and [Lewon] granted it to him. They established a covenant of friendship and marriage relations with each other [g206], as Lewon gave Alice, the daughter of his brother Ruben, who previously had been [the wife] of Het'um, Shahe'nshah's brother, in marriage to the senior son of prince Raymond. [This was done] with the provision that should the union produce a male child, he would be Lewon's heir, and that after the death of his father, Raymond, he would be the lord of Antioch. [This was agreed to] by oath and in writing. The prince's son was with Lewon and went about with him, but he died after a while. His wife was pregnant from him and gave birth to an appealing and comely boy. Since Lewon had no son, the child was to be the heir of their patrimony. He had him nurtured with great attention. He was baptized and called Ruben.

[95] In the year 645 A.E. [1196] the Byzantine emperor sent Lewon a noble crown and sought an alliance of friendship with him. [Lewon] received [the crown] with joy.

In the year 646 A.E. [1197] Lewon sent to Constantinople the archbishop lord Nerse's, son of O'shin, and the very noble prince Halkam, brother of Bakuran, his mother's brother. They went and gladly demonstrated to them Lewon's disposition for friendship. Since lord Nerse's was a wise and learned man, adorned with every virtue, the Byzantine sages gathered around him and conversed with him for many days about the [Armenian] confession of faith and appointments of the church. Lord Nerse's brought them to willing acceptance. In that same year there was a deviation concerning [the proper day for commemorating] Easter. In the same year Lewon sent the archbishop of Sis, lord Yohanne's, to Acre about the crown which the king of the Germans had sent to him with the troops which had come there. An archbishop [artswe'sk'n (Archeveque)] [g207] had also come by order of the pope of Rome [Celestine III].

In the month of January in the year 647 A.E. [1198] on the day of the Revelation of the Lord, they anointed Lewon king of the Armenians in obedience to the church of Rome and the emperor of the Germans. And there was great joy among the Armenian people, since they saw their lordship restored and renewed in the person of Lewon, a moral and God-loving king. In the same year lord Nerse's, son of O'shin and brother of Kostand lord of Lambron, died. And now we should briefly narrate some things about the pleasing modern events occurring in the House of the Armenians. For Lewon was a learned, brilliant man with a happy mien and a generous soul toward all, toward the clerics and laity, the poor, the weak, and to those in monasteries and retreats, dispensing his goodly gifts everywhere, celebrating the feasts of Holy Week with great assembly and a costly table. Whenever he learned that a man was found suitable and capable for a particular job, he sent and called him giving his word and when he had been brought [Lewon] recompensed him with generous

gifts. All the ranks of the clergy and the honored princes were adorned and comely in this country of Cilicia. Let me record their names, one by one.

[96] Lord Dawit', archbishop of Mamsuestia and head of the blessed congregation of Ark'akaghni.
Lord Grigoris, archbishop of Kapan (Kapnun) and head of Areg [g208].
Lord Yovhane's, archbishop of Sis and head of Drazark.
Lord Minas, archbishop of the holy city of Jerusalem.
Lord Yuse'p', archbishop of Antioch and head of Yisuank'
Lord Kostandin, archbishop of Anazarb and head of Kastaghon.
Lord Vardan, archbishop of Lambron and head of Skewr'a.
Lord Setp'anos, archbishop of Tarsus and head of Mlich.
Lord T'oros, bishop of Selewkia.
Lord Astuatsatur, bishop of Metsk'ar.
Lord Yohane's, bishop of Sanvilank'.
Lord Ge'org, bishop of Andriasank'.
Lord Kostandin, bishop of Yohnank'.
Lord Grigor, bishop of P'ilpposeank'.
Lord Step'anos, bishop of Berdus.
Lord Mxit'ar, bishop of E"nkuzut.

The prince of Baghras, Adam.
The prince of Chker, Hostius (O'stn).
The prince of Hamus, Arewgoyn.
The prince of Sarvandik'ar, Smbat.
The prince of Harun, Lewon.
The prince of Simanay citadel, Siruhi.
The prince of Ane', Henri (Her'i).
The prince of Kutaf, the constable (gundustapl) Aplgharip.
The prince of E"nkuzut, Baudoin (Paghtin).
The prince of T'or'nika, Stefn.
The princes of Berdus, Lewon and Grigor.
The prince of Kanch', Ashot.
The prince of Fo'r'no's, Aplgharip.
The prince of Kapan, Tancred (Tankri) [g209].
The prince of Chanchi, Kostandin.
The prince of Shoghakan, Geoffry (Chof'ri).
The prince of Mazotxach', Simun.
The prince of T'il, Robert (E"r'o'pert).
The prince of T'lsap, T'oros.
The prince of Vaner, Vasil the marshal [(marajaxt) maréchal].
The prince of Bardzrberd, Ge'org.
The prince of Kopitar', Kostandin.
The prince of Mo'lovon, Azhar'os.
The prince of Kuklak, Smbat.
The prince of Lambron, Het'um.
The prince of Lulwa, Shahinshah.
The prince of Paper'o'n, Bakuran.
The prince of Askur'as, Vasak.
The prince of Manash, Het'um.
The prince of Berdak, Mixayl.

The prince of Pr'akana, Tigran.
 The prince of Siwil, O'shin.
 The prince of Kur'iko's, Simun.
 The prince of Selewkia and Punar', Kostants'.
 The prince of Sinit and Kovas, R'omanos.
 The prince of Ve't and Ve'r'e''sk, Nikefo'r'n.
 The prince of Lavzat and Timitupo'lis, Christopher (Xr'so'f'o'n).
 The prince of Manio'n, Lamo's, Zher'manik and Anamur', Halkam.
 The prince of Norberd and Ko'mar'tas, the sebastius Henri (Her'i).
 The prince of Ando'shts and Kupa, Baudoin.
 The prince of Maghva and Sik and Palapo'l, Kyr Isaac (Ker'asak).
 The prince of Manovghat and Alar, Mixayl.
 The princes of Lakr'awen, Kostandin and Nikifo'r'.
 The prince of Kalano'no'r'soy, Ayzhutap, the blessed Sop'e' and Naghlo'n, Kyr Vard (Ker'vard).

[97] Now the aforementioned fortresses at one time served King Lewon, but later [g210] they [re]turned to the sultan. After the death of Prince Bohemond, many soldiers came in service to King Lewon as did princes with them. Here are their names: Olivier the Chambellan (Ulive'r Jambr'layn), Roger du Mont (R'o'che'l Tmunt'), Louard (Juart), Thomas Maslebrun (T'umas Male''prun), Bohemond Lair (Bale'n Pudler), Guillaume de l'Isle (Kilam Tlil). With such prudent princes and valiant warriors did [Lewon] press upon the bands of enemies. They greatly harassed the sons of Kilij-Arslan who ruled the House of the Romans, taking fortresses from them and enslaving their country with looting. With the greatest bravery [Lewon] remained armed amidst the enemy, like an invincible hero. He remembered the wicked deeds that the Lambronets'ik' [Het'umids] had committed against the Christians of Cilicia and against the Rubenid clan [for example, that] O'shin, Het'um's father, had become a leader of the Turks and had brought them against Adana, which he captured causing a great slaughter there. It is said that they took 500 virgin girls captive, not to mention countless others. Lewon, in his wisdom, planned to clip their wings, and reduce their insufferable haughtiness. He suggested some appealing ideas to O'shin's son, Het'um, saying: "I want to establish friendly relations with you, and give Phillipa, the daughter of my brother, Ruben, as a wife to your eldest son, O'shin. Het'um accepted this proposal with thanks and gladness. So they made preparations for the wedding in the city of Tarsus, and Het'um arrived at Tarsus with his clan [g211], sons, and entire household. Then King Lewon seized them. He sent and took Lambron without a battle and put Het'um into prison for a while. Subsequently he released him from prison and gave him numerous villages and gifts and accepted him with honor. [Het'um] served him loyally in accordance with his wisdom, for he was a sensible man and extremely literate besides. But once again, after some years, [Lewon] seized him and put him into prison where he donned clerical clothing. The king went to see him in the prison at Vahka and they requested forgiveness for their actions. The king freed him and gave him the blessed congregation of Drazark where he remained until his death. When he became a cleric, he adopted the name Henri (Heghi).

[98] In the year 650 A.E. [1201] Sultan Rukn ad-Din went to the East with many troops and captured the city of T'e'odupo'lis, which is the city of Karin, not by warfare but by friendship. Then, boasting, he went against Mzhnkert and, while he was besieging the fortress militarily, the troops of the Georgians came upon him. They put him to flight, captured Vahram-Shah, lord of Eznka, and returned to their own land laden with booty. The sultan appointed his brother, Tughril-Shah, as lord of the city of Karin. He was a righteous man who maintained friendship with King Lewon throughout his entire life, and he liked Christians. His brother, the sultan, returned to his own place [g212].

In the year 652 A.E. [1203] the kat'oghikos, lord Grigoris, went to king Lewon in Hor'omklay regarding his sister's son, Het'um, who was still in confinement during his second arrest. The king freed him, as we mentioned earlier. After a short while lord Grigoris reposed in Christ and was buried at the blessed

congregation of Ark'akaghin. In the same year King Lewon convened an assembly of bishops and established the archbishop of Sis, lord Yohane's, as the kat'oghikos of the Armenians [Hovhannes VI Ssets'i, 1203-1221]. He was a wise, learned, and generous man, keeping a kingly table and a humble heart, simple in his person but attentive to spiritual matters. He greatly loved virtuous men and did not permit harm to come to the [Church's] ranks. He was constructive, an improver of the nation, a preparer of what is proper, who also well secured the fortress of Hor'omklay, who removed many church vessels of gold and silver and sent home everyone who came to him in a goodly fashion. He belonged to the Het'umid clan, a son of Kostand, brother of O'shin.

In the year 654 A.E. [1204] Rukn ad-Din died and his son, named Sulaiman-Shah, occupied his place.

[99] In the year 654 A.E. [1205] King Lewon went against the city of Aplastayn, but was unable to take it. And Kilij-Arslan's son, Xosrov-Shah, came from Constantinople and ruled over his patrimony. In this period the kat'oghikos, lord Yohane's, went to King Lewon having heard blameworthy information about [the unfaithfulness] of the lady of Antioch, whom the king [g213] had [as a wife]. [Yohane's] related [these matters] to the king in private. As the king was very emotional, he ordered that many of the woman's relatives be ruined, and he violently struck the woman with his own hands, wanting to slay her on the spot. Kostand, the son of his uncle Vasak, was barely able to escape, half-dead, with his life, and he was sent in fetters to Vahka. King Lewon had a young daughter from her, named Rita, whom King Lewon's mother raised.

Now in the year 655 A.E. [1206] Bohemond, prince of Antioch, died and his one-eyed son, who was the count of Tripoli, occupied his place. King Lewon sent to him and showed him the written document which his father had made with the king concerning the inheritance of his eldest son, which we described earlier. But he did not agree to implement the conditions of the agreement or behave in a just manner. So once again the king sent and [this time] showed the patriarch of Antioch the same document concerning his rights. The patriarch testified to the king's right [in the matter], but the count would not comply. So the patriarch excommunicated him and ordered that the bell not be sounded in Antioch, that mass not be offered, and that the dead not be buried, and [still] he did not consent. After all this, he dared to stretch out his hand to the patriarch. He put him into confinement and afflicted him with hunger and thirst. Then he sent to him, saying: "Testify that by right I am the lord of Antioch, and I shall free you and you shall live." But [the patriarch] totally rejected this to the point that he died in prison of hunger and thirst, but would not speak falsely. Subsequently there was great agitation between the king and the prince [g214].

[100] In the year 656 A.E. [1207] the counts of Venice and Flandre [Baudouin IX de Flandre] came to Constantinople and took the city from the Byzantines. They destroyed and caused everyone to flee, and thereafter the kingship of the Byzantines was removed from Constantinople. In the same year King Lewon, because of some problems, seized the sebastius Henri and his sons Kostants' Kumartias, Joscelin, and Baudoin and put them into prison in fetters. Henri was the son-in-law of Lord Yohane's, kat'oghikos of the Armenians. Thereafter there was discord between King Lewon and the kat'oghikos, Lord Yohane's. The hatred between them grew so great that the king completely repudiated [Yohane's], and the leaders and princes of Cilicia designated the archbishop of Mamistra and prelate of Ark'akaghni, Lord Dawit', as kat'oghikos of the Armenians in opposition to him. Lord Yohane's remained in Hor'omklay like a refugee but he was sustained by his bravery and wisdom. He resisted through many clandestine and open actions against him. Now Sultan Xosrov-Shah, Kilij-Arslan's son, ruled over the land of the Romans as monarch and began to menace King Lewon. Through the encouragement and collaboration of Lord Yohane's, [Xosrov-Shah] came with many troops against Berdus which he battled against and captured. He seized its lord, Grigor, Lewon's son, and thereafter Berdus was no longer under Armenian authority. This happened in the year 657 A.E. [1208] [g215].

When Constantinople was taken by the Roman troops and the princes had been put to flight, a certain Byzantine became powerful and, ruling on this [eastern] side of Constantinople, he seized Nicaea, Philadelphia, Pega, Adramyttion, Ephesus, and Smyrna as well as the fortresses and cities near them. This man, called Lascari, was courageous and warlike and he ruled over them. He bordered on [the territory of] Sultan Xosrov-Shah. Due to friction between them, they went to war in the district of Xonas. The sultan was slain by Lascari's forces. Then his son, 'Izz ad-din Kaykaus (Aze"tin Gagayuz), ruled in his stead. This occurred in 658 A.E. [1209].

[101] In this period King Lewon, at the urging of his mother, Rita, displayed to all those obedient to him, the grandees and the common folk, his [chosen] heir apparent to his kingdom, Ruben, the son of the daughter of his brother Ruben. For he had reached old age and was feeble due to the pain he experienced in hand and foot, [an ailment] called "the disease of kings." Furthermore, he had no male heir. Consequently, once, twice, three and more times he made all those under his sway pledge their support to the lad Ruben following his own death. He seized prince Gorg, Mleh's illegitimate son, and had him blinded, for [Gorg] was a contentious man, very brave in military affairs who kept a splendid table; and there were many who cleaved to him and liked him [g216]. Thus the king was suspicious of him, that he would go against his [plans for the] inheritance, awaiting an opportune moment. And this [neutralizing of Gorg] happened because of the slander of certain people. In the same year the king started an extended war against Antioch, and he devastated all the villages, destroying not people, but their vineyards and orchards. And he did this for many months on end, demanding the patrimony of the lad Ruben through law and warfare. But he was unable to force the one-eyed count [of Antioch] into compliance. So he harassed Antioch greatly, for the entire year without any letup.

When the year 658 A.E. [1210] had arrived King Lewon sent Het'um, lord of Lambron, who was called Henri and who had become lord of Drazark, to the Pope of Rome and to the emperor of the Germans. [Lewon] requested a crown for his "son" Ruben, and [Het'um] returned in honor, bringing the crown. During this period King Lewon went to the island of Cyprus and took for a wife the sister of the island's king [a woman] who did not share the same father [as her sister]. She was named Sybil, a wise, modest and God-fearing woman. He also took the sister of his queen, who did not have the same father, for the lad Ruben and brought her here, held the weddings, and remained in joy.

In the year 660 A.E. [1211] Lord Dawit', the kat'oghikos, reposed in Christ. In the same year Het'um, the abbot of Drazark, went to Lord Yohane's, the kat'oghikos in the citadel, and was able to reconcile the patriarch and the king. Simultaneously he freed the son of Henri, Joscelin, and Baudoin [g217] though the other one had died. In the same year Tughril-Shah, lord of Karin city, moved against the city of Caesarea with a multitude of troops at the instigation of King Lewon who had gone there with his troops to assist him. Together they made war against [Tughril-Shah's] brother's son, K'ayk'auz. After remaining there for some days, they each returned to their homes, unable to capture it. In this year the great prince Zak'ari (Zak'are') [Zak'arean/Mxargrdzeli] died. He was the lord of Ani and the brother of Iwane' (Ewane'), and the sparapet of the Georgian queen Thamar [T'amar, 1184-1212], daughter of King George (Gorge') [George III, 1156-1184], who was the king of the House of the Georgians during the time of King Lewon. [Thamar] had died the previous year [i.e., in 1210] and so, in this period, the kingship was held by her son who was called Lasha [George IV, the Resplendent, 1212-1223].

[102] When the year 661 A.E. [1212] had arrived, complete harmony was established between King Lewon and the kat'oghikos, Lord Yohane's, and [Lewon] returned all the villages and properties which he had taken from the kat'oghikos. And they rejoiced, both near and far.

In the year 663 A.E. [1213] King Lewon gave his daughter, Rita [also known as Stephanie/Estéphémie], [in marriage] to the king of Jerusalem, Jean de Brienne (E"r'e'chuan). This man was of gigantic size, completely pious, and a valiant fighter who was courageous in battle. And the magister of the Hospitallers (maystr'n

Ospe't'lun) came to Antioch by boat, to the delta at Tarsus, where the King and the magister finalized the terms of the marriage [g218]. Then they took [the betrothed] to Acre, where they were married.

In the year 665 A.E. [1216] on the 14th of February, on Candlemasday, King Lewon took Antioch through skill and wisdom. For previously he had been unable to bring it to accept him through extensive warfare. But now, by giving generous gifts and making promises, he was able to convince some of the princes, and they opened the gates for him at night. [Lewon] entered with many troops, seized the gates and all the guard towers about it, and stationed the multitude of soldiers throughout the city streets, without the knowledge of the city's inhabitants. When morning dawned [the residents] saw that the city full of troops, and they were dumbfounded. No one was harmed and nothing was stolen. On the contrary, the patriarch and all the grandees took King Lewon and Ruben to the Church of St. Peter where the patriarch ordained Ruben as prince of Antioch. And everyone swore obedience to him as though he were their native lord. Those who were [holed up] in the citadel held out for a few days and then they also surrendered and came to do obeisance to Prince Ruben. Now when King Lewon had achieved these things, he was ecstatic at his divinely-appointed success, for those who previously had served [only] themselves [Lewon] placed under his own authority. He also was delighted with Ruben, since he was a handsome lad, tall, and with fair hair that resembled gold thread. He was an admirable horseman [g219], with a royal bearing, respectful and personally pure. In this period King Lewon had a daughter who was named Zape'l. Thereafter he thought to make his daughter the heir of his kingdom, and his princes similarly advised him to do so, saying: "When the Lord God grants you a child, make it your heir, and we shall dissolve the compact which we made with Ruben and establish one with your daughter, and we shall serve her as though she were a man. What you have done for Ruben is sufficient, since you have established him on the throne of their [Rubenid] patrimony. The king agreed with the words of his princes. [103] In this period [crusaders] came to Acre by boat, [including] the duke of the Germans, Duc d'Autriche (To'str'ich) [Léopold VI], with many troops and with him the king of Hungary, André [II] with few troops. The duke of Austria, and Jean de Brienne, king of Jerusalem, and the Maitre du Temple, de l'Hopital, Couvent and the legate of Rome [Pélage, Cardinal d'Albano], all went to Egypt. They reached Damietta where a very fortified tower had been constructed over the harbor bound up with an unbreakable chain. They were unable to land for many days until [g220] they stacked up boats, came near the wall and barely were able to take the tower, suffering great losses. Then they got on to dry land and constructed a bridge over the river and crossing over on that were able to besiege the city on all sides. The sultan of Egypt, Malik al-Kamil (Yetl), Saladin's brother, and sons, It...em...n [letters missing] and Ashraf, came and encamped opposite them, but were in no way able to aid the city or to intimidate the Christian forces. Now when the Christian troops arose from Acre and wanted to go to Egypt, the Hungarian king turned around and went home, coming [first] to the land of Cilicia. King Lewon received him with great honor and took him to Tarsus, displaying much affection toward him. Then they strengthened those bonds of friendship by establishing marriage relations with each other['s families]. [The Hungarian king] gave his son as a son-in-law to King Lewon and [this son] would inherit [Lewon's] throne. They confirmed this in writing and with an oath. King Lewon sent his chamberlain (jambri'layn), Joscelin, lord of Hasan Tell, along with the king of the Hungarians to see about his son. Previously he had also made marriage relations with Emperor Lascari and gave to him as a wife Philippa, the daughter of his brother, Ruben. Now when Sultan K'ayk'auz of Iconium took Antioch, there was discord between them. He came with many troops against Kapan and harassed it, but was not able to take it. However, through the power of the devil, they seized the constable of the Armenians, Kostandin, son of Het'um, and Kyr Sahak (Ker'sak), lord of Maghvay and other [g221] princes along with them, and returned to their own place.

In the year 668 A.E. [1219] King Lewon gave the fortresses of Lulua and Lo'zat and freed the captured princes. In the same year the kat'oghikos, Lord Yohane's, came to King Lewon and he gave Hor'omklay to him, since he was being harassed by the infidels. And the king gave him Drazark, since Henri had previously died.

While it was the year 668 A.E. [1219], King Lewon grew ill and died of that illness. But while he was still alive, his princes came to him together with Lord Yohane's, the kat'oghikos. When he realized that he was departing this world, he ordered that he be taken from Sis and taken on the road to Akner, which he himself had constructed, so that when he died he would be buried there. While on he road, he summoned all of them and counseled them to remain unshakable in their love for each other, and brave in the defense of the land, and to keep unblemished faith with his young daughter, Zape'l, whom he had left as the heir of his lordship. [104] He also appointed as tutor of his young daughter the great prince Sir Adam (Siratan), who was lord of many fortresses and districts from Selewia to [the area] close to Kalo'no'ro's, which to this day is called after his name, the land of Sir Adam. His rank was seneschal (seneskal) of the Armenians, and to him did the king entrust his daughter, together with others [including] the patriarch Yohane's, and all the princes [g222], and he counseled them. Having reached the village of Mrvan, he halted there, since his body had weakened from pain. Present there was a virtuous vardapet, Grigor, who was also called Skewr'ats'i, who administered the final holy communion [to the king]. And, as we mentioned earlier, the son of the Hungarian king was in the vicinity and came to become [Lewon's] son-in-law, and [Lewon] ordered his princes to implement the oaths they had sworn to him and to wed his daughter, Zape'l, with the son of the king [of Hungary] who had arrived there, and to immediately rule as king over them. Then [Lewon's] spirit began to depart from this world of care, and he concerned himself with what was [spiritually] proper, and [the matter of] burying his body in the blessed congregation of Akner. He summoned the blessed vardapet Grigor and confessed his sins and professed the orthodox faith, and took communion from the hands of the blessed vardapet, thanking God. This happened on May 1st. Then there was contention as to where the body should be buried, for the kat'oghikos, Lord Yohane's, insisted that the body should be taken to Drazark, and the princes [insisted on] Akner, which [Lewon] himself had insisted on. When he was translated to Christ with a goodly confession, they resolved [the issue] as follows: his entrails would be removed and buried at Akner and his body would be taken to Sis and placed in his tomb in the church. May the lord God have mercy on him and forgive his sins.

In the year 660 A.E. [1220] the princes who were in Cilicia, Armenians and Greeks, paron Vahram and others at Tarsus, some 5,000 men, came against the bailli (payloyn) of the Armenians, paron Kostandin, in rebellion. Meanwhile the bailli of the Armenians was in Sis with very few troops. And when news of their coming to [g223] Mamistra reached him, the bailli of the Armenians went toward them with 300 men. When he reached Mamistra and did not find that they had arrived, he arose and went along the road to Adana and encountered them between Adana and Mamistra. Observing their great multitude, he encouraged and exhorted his few troops. When they reached a place where there was a small bridge, they attacked and put them to flight, pursuing as far as Tarsus. They put no one to death, rather they took their horses, weapons, and clothes and released them with nothing. Now the princes of Tarsus went and entered the city, closed the gates, and mounted the ramparts where they warred against those who had expelled them. A certain man from the city, named Vasil, was an informer for the bailli who had promised him whatever he wanted. In the evening he opened the gates and the bailli and his troops entered the city, looting the Greeks' property. Now those princes fled the city and took refuge in the citadel which was beautiful and impregably fortified. The wise Kostandin, bailli of the Armenians, convinced them with his words [to surrender] without a fight. He arrested them and put them into prison. There were those among them that he freed, and those who died there. In the same year the kat'oghikos, Lord Yohane's, reposed in Christ and was buried at Drazark. Then the bishops and vardapets assembled and deliberated to select a new kat'oghikos of the Armenians. Now it happened that the princes were divided since there was no king whose choice they could implement. The bailli, paron Kostandin, wanted Lord Kostandin Bardzrberdts'i [for kat'oghikos] while paron Kostandin Lambrunts'i wanted vardapet Grigor Skewr'ats'i. God who always heeded [the wishes of] Kostandin, bailli of the Armenians, at this time also [g224] listened, and so they enthroned Lord Kostandin Bardzrberdts'i as kat'oghikos of the Armenians [Kostandin I Bardzrberdts'i, 1221-1267].

[105] In the year 671 A.E. [1222] they took Phillip, son of the count of Tripoli and prince of Antioch, gave him as a wife King Lewon's daughter, Zape'l, and made him king of the House of the Armenians. [This was] because the son of the king of Hungary had not come when he heard about the death of King Lewon. As soon as Phillip had become king, he became tyrannical toward the Armenian princes, loathing them, and, gathering up the the belongings of King Lewon, insulted him and gradually started taking [Lewon's accumulated] wealth to Antioch. Now the Armenian princes did not stand for such things. Consequently, they seized [Phillip] and incarcerated him, and there was great contention between them and the Antiochenes, until [Phillip] was eliminated. And then there was peace.

In the year 675 A.E. [1226] the Armenian princes, together with the kat'oghikos, Lord Kostand, assembled and enthroned Het'um, son of Kostandin, bailli of the Armenians, and also gave him [as a wife] Zape'l, King Lewon's daughter. Thereafter there was peace in the House of the Armenians, and year by year they strived for the heights.

In the year 678 A.E. [1229] the emperor of the Germans [Frederic II] crossed over the sea and went to Jerusalem, which he took from the infidels. And he exterminated them [g225].

Colophon

A. Remember to Christ and say 'God have mercy.' I am Simion vardapet Aparants'i, the one who wrote this document.

B. Every man who understands his life should quickly confess and turn from his sins.

[106] In these days diabolical anger moved Queen Zape'l who wanted to go to see her mother at the Hopitaller fortress in Selewkia. She left [the king] and [this] caused discord with the king and all the Armenians. Paron Kostandin assembled the cavalry and went [after her], and encamped opposite Selewkia's Hospitaller monastery which paid a good deal to Selewkia and was frightened of Sultan 'Izz ad-Din. He wanted to give up the fortress with the queen and establish friendship with the Armenians. The Freres replied in this fashion: "King Lewon gave this fortress to us. We cannot say to his own daughter, 'Get up and leave the fortress.' So we will depart, then you take the fortress and her." In this way did they capture Selewkia and the queen.

In this period the sultan of Aleppo came with much cavalry against Baghras, but was unable to take it. In the same year Queen Zape'l gave birth to her first-born son, Lewon.

In these days a Mongol (T'at'ar) [commander] entered Rum. The sultan's mother took her daughter and fled to Cilicia. The Mongol sent to King Het'um [ordering him] to give up the fugitives. "Otherwise," he said [g226] "all the friendship you established with us will be [proven] false." They were frightened lest the Mongols pour into the country, and so they gave [them the fugitives]. Sultan K'ay Xosrov-Shah and all the Tachiks were enraged, and so [the sultan] assembled his cavalry and, under the leadership of paron Kostandin, of Lambron, entered [Cilicia] at a place down the mountain from Papar'on, burning everything. The king's father, paron Kostandin, and Constable Smbat went and entered Tarsus, while the king and his cavalry were at Adana. The Turks besieged Tarsus, descended beyond the river's mouth and enslaved the entire country, remaining for six days. Then they arose and went through the pass at Kukla. The king pursued with his cavalry, as did the king's father and Constable Smbat. They caught up [with the Saljuqs] at a place called

Maytsar' and were able to retrieve countless numbers [of captives]. We were there and touched God[^s mercy] and were able to descend to Putande with the wounded.

[107] After one year, in the year 695 A.E. [1246], [the Saljuqs] held many musters and two hundred sixty thousand of them came and entered [Cilicia] through the pass at Kuklka. They all surrounded Tarsus, while the king's father and Constable Smbat entered it. Were we to write about all the harassment from bombs and fighting, it would be quite an extensive account. Some [of the enemy] went into the water [of the moat?] and demolished a section of the wall. Many died on both sides but [the enemy] lost a hundred times more, since we had good Frankish warriors (?ch'arxawork') with us inside.

Then an emissary came from the Mongols for him to leave off [the siege] and depart. But he would not listen, for they had taken the city. That city, which God had often preserved for the Christians, again was spared. Sultan Ghiyath ad-Din (Xita' Atin) sat nearby in his fortress at Kalonor'os, doing nothing but drinking, and he died. The emirs were encamped over Tarsus when they heard [about the death], and so they entered into negotiations with the king. They wanted Prakana and if they received it [g227], they would go home in friendship. Thus the king surrendered it so that they would arise and go. We did not [then] know about the sultan's death, for we were being harassed. But after two years we stole back Pr'akana. Through the will of God, no one dared to flee. Not a drop of rain had fallen, but when friendship had been established, it rained for twenty days and nights without cease. And the entire land turned into one big sea. At that point, when more than one hundred thousand men arose, they were trampled and died and also perished by drowning. We burned many of the detestable [soldiers] since there was no oath. (?)

[108] History of [the decade starting with] 700 A.E. [1251] and the events occurring in it.

In the year 701 A.E. [1252] King Het'um's queen, Zape'l, who was the daughter of King Lewon, passed to Christ on Monday, January 22 at the beginning of feast of Lent. She was adorned with every virtue and benevolence. She had born three sons, the first named Lewon, the second, T'oros, and the third, Ruben, as well as five daughters. One of the daughters, whose name was Euphemie (Fimi), was wed to a certain Frank named Julian, being the lord of Sidon. [Subsequently] he lost [the lordship of] Sidon through a game of dice, and the crusading Templars purchased it.

In the year 702 A.E. [1253] King Het'um of Armenia disguised himself as a servant with a pack animal, arose from his country of Cilicia with a few men, and headed East to the Nation of Archers [Mongols], to the Khan named Monge (Mango). With great dread he crossed through [g229] the country of Cappadocia where Ishmaelite tribes dwelled. He was led by a monk named Barsegh, who had taking the same route on many occasions. They reached the borders of T'e'odupo'lis [Karin/Erzerum] and lodged in the home of a certain prince K'urd, in a place called Vardeni, where they waited for the gifts which they had readied for the Khan to arrive from the country of Cilicia, [since they had been] sent after them. Kostandin, the king's father, had prepared the goods and sent them to King Het'um with trustworthy men. Then the king took those gifts which were all most desirable and went to Mongke-Khan. He gave them [to Mongke-Khan] and [Mongke-Khan] joyfully received King Het'um, granting him whatever he requested. [Mongke-Khan] also placed his own attendants—Markatea, who was one-eyed, and Pach'u—among with those who had come from the land of Cilicia. In the same year they took Sipil, daughter of King Het'um, and married her to Bohemond, prince of Antioch and count of Tripoli.

In the year 703 A.E. [1254] there arose a certain one of the tent-dwelling Turkmens named Islampak. From the same line, those called Aghach'arik' joined him and created numerous difficulties for the Christians. They

burned many places at the base of the Taurus Mountains, enslaved and burned the town of Krakka. But after a few days that dog perished and that mountainous country was in peace.

[109] In the year 704 A.E. [1255] Prince Geoffrey from the country of Cilicia passed from this life with good confession. He was a eunuch, and from a Christian family [g230].

In the year 705 A.E. [1256] in the month of September, Het'um, king of the Armenians, came back from Mongke, who had been designated Khan. And if, in going to him, he had moved clandestinely, in his return he went through them like a lion. He came peacefully and reached the village called Bardz [Bardzrberd] where his father, Kostandin, and his sons and daughters were, and they rejoiced exceedingly. In the same year in the month of October, King Het'um convened an assembly, together with his brothers and all his relations and gentry. And they say that they had assembled some 100,000 men and with them he invaded the district of Rum by the base of the Taurus Mountains, near the city of Ar'akil in the corridor of Churches and in Murand. There he gained many cattle, sheep, horses, and mules, servants and gold, and he returned to his own land with much booty. They rejoiced for many days. In the same year King Het'um wanted to seat his eldest son, Lewon, on a horse. He went to the capital of Mamistra and sent to Antioch summoning his son-in-law, Bohemond, prince of Antioch and the Tripoli area, to come to him with his company. Similarly he sent to Julian, lord of Sidon, to come with his company. He also sent to [Marie], the Countess of Jaffa, and glorified all her relations to come to him. All ranks of the church monastics assembled before him for the joyous event. And they placed Lewon on a horse in the year [g231] 705 A.E. [1256] on the fifteenth day of November to the great joy of the king and his father and his entire family and those who were present.

[110] In the year 707 A.E. [1258] the Nation of Archers came against the city of Baghdad (Babylon) with all their chiefs of thousand[-man brigades] and hundred[-man brigades], having Hulegu-Khan as their supreme chief. They besieged the city and fiercely afflicted it. The inhabitants of the city were extremely numerous, and in addition, all races of Muslims had assembled there for two reasons. First, one year earlier they had [already] learned about the Khan's intentions to come against them, and so they had made all preparations for war. The other reason was that the caliph who had resided in Cairo had transferred thence during the time when King Baudoin resided in Jerusalem and was harassing Egypt. The sultan of Aleppo had slain the caliph and thenceforth the filthy seat of their patriarchate had been transferred [back] to Baghdad, and thus they had assembled there at the command of their leader. The residents of the city arose against [the Mongols] in battle and killed many troops of the Nation of Archers, putting [others] to flight. After pursuing them a bit, they returned to the city and [the Mongols] turned back upon the city for battle. The caliph sent to Hulegu-Khan, saying: "Take your forces and depart. Otherwise, when I bring forth the robe of our prophet [Muhammad] for people to see, you will be destroyed one and all. But those among you who are of our faith I will spare if they are [already] on the road." When the khan heard these words, he ridiculed the caliph, and spat while chewing [g232], as though spitting on the caliph's face. And Hulegu loudly declared: "By the aid of God and the yasax [xrad] of Chingiz-Khan, I will put to the sword all of you who boast of your prophet." When they heard this the two sides arose to fight each other. The Nation of Archers attacked them and, shrieking out [war cries], they beat them severely. [The defenders of Baghdad] turned back in flight and [the Mongols] pursued them into the city, generally killing men and women to the point that the wide Euphrates River, which ran through the city, was the color of blood for many days. After such a slaughter they stopped. And then they designated chiefs and tax collectors over [the conquered population] and returned to their own place with enormous booty. In the same year King Het'um's true younger brother, Lewon, prepared to go to Cyprus to take a wife. He had everything required for the marriage put on boats and was awaiting a north wind. So he arose and came to his father, Kostandin, to be blessed by him. However it happened that [Lewon] grew ill and died on May 30th in the city of Adana. They opened his stomach and took a portion [of his organs] to the blessed congregation of Akner, where they were buried. His body was taken to the blessed congregation of Mlich, which is near Paper'o'n, and buried there. From that day forth, sorrow was visited on the king's father, Kostandin, and on King Het'um and on all their clan. In the same year a certain Turkmen named Sarum

assembled not a few troops and came to the village of Krakka. Finding it unprepared, he enslaved many people and then took them away unharmed. But after a short time he perished [g233].

In the year 708 A.E. [1259] King Het'um took ship with 200 men and went to Tripoli, to make peace between his son-in-law, the prince of Antioch and count of Tripoli, and his princes since there was rancor between them. The king reconciled them and then returned to his own land. In the same year on the feast of Pentecost a great assembly was held in the city of Tarsus and after some days they ordained as archbishop the king's brother, Baudoin, calling him lord Yohane's. On the same day they seated on a horse the king's son, T'oros. However prior to this a certain prince named O'shin who was of Byzantine nationality stole the keep of Mundas. As soon as Sultan Rukn ad-Din of Rum heard of this he assembled many of his troops, designated chiefs for them, and sent them to the aforementioned keep of Mundas to besiege it. From this fortress a certain [man] departed and came to King Het'um. [111] He told him about the large concentration of Christians gathered in that keep and about the sultan's coming against them. The king ordered his forces to assemble. Taking them at once he reached the borders of the fortress. Accompanying the king was the blessed, life-giving, holy icon called Ko'sitar', which manifested great wonders. For as they were going secretly in the night it was visible to all, since it went alight before the king. [Furthermore] although it was the month of July, as they approached the fortress, they were going over snow. The aspasalar Lewon, surnamed Aplhasan, traveled foremost and *en route* came upon infidel troops who were designated to guard their forces. They attacked each other and [the Armenians] defeated the infidels, putting them to flight, as far as Ar'akli. As soon as the infidels heard the clamor of the believers, they armed and went to battle, front against front [g234]. They began to crush the Christians and got that renowned warrior, Vahram of Hamus, trapped in their midst, surrounded on four sides by their spears, but they were unable to throw him. When this was observed by the most valiant warrior, Smbat, the sparapet [Constable] of the Armenians, the king's true brother, he took a spear and went upon them and covered the ground with their corpses, freeing from their clutches his son-in-law, Vahram, and bravely pressing them to their camps. At that point the power of the holy cross came upon them and everyone bravely applied himself to the battle. They put them to flight, killed many of the infidels, while the survivors went to their sultan in Iconium [Konya], full of shame. Meanwhile the king, taking great booty and property from them peacefully returned to Cilicia. He removed that great multitude which had gathered in the keep and brought them to his land.

In the year 709 A.E. [1260] Hulegu-Khan took his troops, whose multitude was like a spring torrent, and he subjugated the fortresses of the infidels along the way, some by friendship and some by battle. He came against Aleppo and surrounded it. He sent to King Het'um for him to come to him. When the latter quickly arrived at the khan[']s camp] with his troops, the khan joyfully received him. And that victorious khan harassed Aleppo with numerous [war] machines. Despite the breadth of its walls and the depth of its moat, in seven days the attackers had breached [Aleppo's defenses] [g235]. Then, when they had raised a [battle] cry one and all, they began to move and the ground trembled [from their multitude]. They went into the fortress and, putting swords to work, mercilessly destroyed the Ismaelites. But they did not condemn the believers to death, merely looting their belongings. No one can put into writing the extent of the destruction. Then, taking all their spoil and captives, they went to Damascus. They put under their domination all the cities, villages, and fortresses as far as Jerusalem. Everywhere they installed their chiefs, and they designated as Ten Thousander a certain man named Ket-Buqa (K'it'pugha). And then the victorious khan took his troops together with his son, Abagha, and went to his place in the East. However the Ten Thousander Ket-Buqa did not remain faithful to the khan's order—which was to remain in his designated place. [112] Rather, he assembled troops including 500 men from the land of Cilicia which he had sent for from the king, and then went and entered Egypt. Egyptian spies reported this as soon as they observed it and [the Mamluks] immediately armed and prepared. They went four days' travel to intercept them, at a place called Pr'r'. They encamped a half-day's distance from [the Mongols]. At sunrise they massed front against front and battled ferociously. From the extreme heat and the weakness of their horses, the Nation of Archers was defeated and turned to flight. [The Mamlukes] pursued them and only a few escaped. [The Mongol] chief Ket-Buqa was

slain in battle, while his wife and children were taken captive to Egypt. Meanwhile the survivors went to Hulegu-Khan and related to him what had happened. [Hulegu] roared like a lion and vowed to come and take [g236] vengeance for the blood of his troops. In the same year Het'um, king of the Armenians, assembled troops and went as though on a campaign through Cappadocia and Iconia to the Nation of Archers in the country of Galatia, to Gangra, which bordered Smyrna and [the holdings of] Lascaris. For earlier [the Mongols] had sent to the king [telling him] to go to them. When the king had prepared to go, [the Mongols already] had crossed over [that territory] and the king, out of fear of them, did not dare to delay his journey. Rather, putting his life at risk, he took a few men as we said, and went to meet them. But it was of no use. For wherever they went, [the people] had previously heard news about [their arrival] and had secured themselves in caves and crevices. So, they all returned empty-handed to their own places. Now it happened that a certain prince of Byzantine nationality among the troops of King Het'um, who was named Vasil Ker'o'nents', died during the journey. They brought his body to the land of Cilicia and buried it, near the graves of his ancestors.

In the year 710 A.E. [1261], Het'um, king of the Armenians, became the father-in-law of Kostandin, son of the lord of Sarvandik'ar, marrying his daughter Rita to him in the capital city of Sis. In December of the same year Sir Geoffrey, lord of Sarvandik'ar and a valiant warrior, passed to Christ with a goodly confession, leaving three sons: Kostandin, Smbat, and O'shin.

[113] In the year 712 A.E. [1263] unbearable mourning descended on the land of Cilicia [because of the death of the king's father, Kostandin]. Everyone said, with prophetic spirit, that the prosperity of this land coincided with the life of the king's father, Kostandin, who passed from this life on Sunday, Februry 24th of this year [g237]. [Kostandin] passed from this life to Christ with a goodly confession. He had been, as it were, the patriarch of the country of Cilicia, and by his counsel they had remained undisturbed and stable, as everyone was to see [by contrast] a few years after his death just how many believers had been taken captive to Egypt and how the houses of God were burned down by the nation of the Ishmaelites, as well as villages and farms in general. Now prior to the death of the king's father, Kostandin, a certain [individual] named Qaraman (Xoraman) arose from the tribe of tent-dwelling Ishmaelites and came [on an expedition], and as he was traveling many others from the same tribe joined with him. He had them call him sultan and [Qaraman] had grown so strong that the sultan of Rum, Rukn ad-Din, out of fear of him, did not dare to reproach him. And so, many areas with their fortresses were forcibly taken by him. He also caused great harassment in the area of Isauria and Selewkia, enslaving them. Twice he had destroyed troops of King Het'um, [including] the praiseworthy Halkam who had been designated as governor [of that area] who was slain there. As we mentioned earlier [Halkam] was of Byzantine nationality. Then Qaraman became hostile toward the king's brother, Smbat, because in the district Qaraman was inhabiting was a keep called Manio'n which had been wrested from the infidels through much labor and numerous gifts. Previously it had belonged to the Christians. Smbat, the king's brother and sparapet [commander-in-chief] of the Armenians, held [Manio'n] for three years in the midst of such a multitude of infidels. The boastful Qaraman harassed him fiercely and subjected Smbat [g238] to all kinds of dangers, causing him to spend a great deal of gold and silver for the needs of his soldiers and for the fortress. Qaraman came against this fortresses and surrounded it for nine months, severely harassing it. Then he began to speak insultingly and to give orders to the Armenian king, Het'um, saying: "If you want to come to me, you need not come to my feet, rather wait a bit until the autumn wind cleanses the bitterness from your country. That way, when I come I will not be weakened and unable to accomplish anything." As soon as King Het'um heard this, he arose and went to his father, Kostandin, and informed him. When the new patriarch, Kostandin, heard the news, he said to the king: "Arise and go immediately in response to those orders, for I have already heard news of his departure; furthermore I have heard about the defeat of your troops in Isauria and was fearful that, perhaps, a second Saladin had arisen. But when I heard that order which he sent to you, [I say] go bravely [against him] because God has given him into your hand." So the king arose and went to Tarsus, assembled his troops and went to Selewkia. There were gathered cavalry, infantry and bearers, since they were going to take 1000 k'or of grain to the [beseiged] fortress. When the Christian troops and the king reached the borders of the fortress, the infidels who were

beseiging the fortress fled from its rear. When the king arrived at the fortress with his troops, they did not find the impious Qaraman there. The king ordered that the grain be unloaded at the fortress and they removed guards who had gone into exile and designated new ones in their place. Then they took to the road and returned to their land without a care. Now that impious Qaraman [g239] came to a swampy and harsh place, with a mound of stones and a tight pass like a tunnel, and there he waited in ambush. When the Christian forces reached that place, the infidels raised a shriek and struck the believers with arrows. The clamor reached the king and the bravest left their brigades and coursed on to the place of battle. Striking the infidels, they turned them to flight and pierced Qaraman with spears and arrows. [Qaraman] retreated in shame and this impious man died several days later of his wounds. And the impious man's brother, named Bunsuz (Po'nsuz), died in the place of battle, as well as his son-in-law...[words missing] and those slain from the king's troops included Kostandin of Soma, and prince Grigor who was the lord of Mazot Xach', whose right hand was cut off by the point of a sword and fell, and few were those lost by the Christians on that day. Now Smbat, Bakuran's and Kostandin's brother, who was of Byzantine nationality and still a boy, and who was related to King Het'um on his father's side, attacked along with the other braves and covered the ground with the infidels' corpses. When the king and many others saw this, they praised him and sent the glad tidings to Kostandin, the king's father. And when he heard it, he was overjoyed and sent [the lad] back home to his brothers and to his mother, lady (tikin) Shahanduxt, with generous awards and gifts. Then the king came joyfully to his own land, in great delight that he had put to shame such an irritant with so little labor [g240].

[114] In the year 712 A.E. [1263] the Armenian king, Het'um, went to Antioch for pleasure, to see the city. He took along the praiseworthy doctor and archbishop of Anazarba, lord Yakob, together with priests and deacons and many treasures of gold and silver from the chamber of his father, Kostandin, to distribute to the poor and to give to the places of pilgrimage in memory of his soul. When the king entered the city, [the residents] gladly came before him and went around the city with him to [the churches of] Saints Paul and Peter and other places of pilgrimage. He gave gifts to them and also to the blessed monastery called Che''pik'. He also went to the monastery which had received his father, Kostandin, as a brother and he himself, the king, became a brother to them, giving them many gifts by deed so that every year they come to his land and receive them. He stayed in Antioch not a few days and then returned to his own land of Cilicia. In July of the same year King Het'um travelled East to Hulegu-Khan, because of the yearly harassment occasioned by the House of Cappadocia against residents at the foot of the mountain in the land of Cilicia. Hulegu-Khan, because of his extreme affection for the king, sent after him Mongol jurists, Arghuch'ik', who accompanied the king as far as Ar'akli. Rukn ad-Din, the sultan of Rum, had also come and they remained there for some days. They swore a treaty of friendship and made peace. And the king and the sultan were like father and son. And then they returned to their own places. In this year, the countess of Jaffa, Kyra Maria (Ker'amar'), sister of King Het'um, who had come [to Lambron] out of sadness for her father, Kostandin, also died [g241]. She died in the fortress of Lambron and was buried in the blessed congregation of Skewr'a, leaving two sons and three daughters.

[115] In the year 713 A.E. [1264] King Het'um assembled his troops [including] many common infantrymen, and made an expedition to the district of Aleppo, to the towns of Ma'arrat Masrin (Mardmsrin), Sarmin (Srmin), and Fu'a (Fugha). There he acquired a small amount of goods and servants. And it was there that King Het'um had a very narrow escape. For [the king] had taken [only] two eunuchs from his servants, and [only] Kostandin Aplhasanants' from his princes [and with these] he had separated from his troops and entered the city. Furthermore he did so carelessly, wearing neither armor nor helmet. Suddenly he encountered some 20 infidels dressed in armor, who came and entered the prominence in the center of the city, where those fleeing had gathered, in order to protect them. Face to face with them, the king did not know what was happening, and the infidels did not recognize who that person [they had encountered] was. One of them attacked and thrust his sword at the king, and the eunuch Joscelin took the blows. Then again [the infidel] went to strike the king with his sword. [This time] Prince Kostandin raised the sword he had brought

along, and was able to separate the king [from the attackers]. He then turned against them and the infidels went and entered that prominence. Thus was the king saved from all of them. He returned to his land with a great deal of spoil, and everyone was happy. In the same year King Het'um again held a levee and went against the fortress of Ayntab (Ant'e"p'), but was unable to do anything to them and so returned to his own land. After some days, in wintertime, King Het'um thought to go again to the fortress of Ayntab. He went as far as the town of Burdj al-Rasas (purch E"r'asas) [g242] and halted there. For the sun had been dimmed by the clouds and did not appear for five days; and because of the severity of the wind and rains they were not able to come out of their tents, and the attendants and common infantrymen were suffering because of this. So they resolved to turn back, saying that God did not want our journey here. A certain Frank physician named Martin, who was present there and was respected by the king, spoke to the king and to the grandees who had assembled and were debating, some advocating turning back and others not. He said: "Oh king and princes, tonight sleep outdoors, out of the tents and then consider whether to go or to stay." And what he had suggested was praised by many of them, and they turned back in peace. In the same year King Het'um again mustered troops to go to the Aleppo country to enslave and lay waste, but he was unable to realize his plan because it was winter.

[116] In the year 713 A.E. [1264] Hulegu-Khan sent one of his Ten Thousanders and many troops with him to the impregnable fortress of Pir, which was under infidel control. The Ten Thousander, whose name was Turpa, put up barricades and inflicted considerable tribulation on the fortress. He demolished the struts of the wall together with its citadel. Turpa the Ten Thousander summoned King Het'um to come to him. The king assembled his forces and relations in the fortresses called T'il Hamdun, and there he celebrated the feast of the Epiphany. After a few days King Het'um took his troops and went to Turpa. He reached a place called Bambkdzor and sent 200 of his cavalry to go in advance to Turpa [g243], after which he himself would follow. At this point, a bearer of glad tidings came to the king and to his eldest son, Lewon, [informing them] that a son had been born to Lewon, paron of the Armenians, in the city of Mamistra, and this was in the month of January...[words missing] and who can relate the joy of the king, the grandees, and the common folk at that news? Then [because of the celebration] many of the worst and ignoble clans as well as even the eunuchs merited glories and the honor [of the ceremony] of being seated on horses. News reached the king about the departure of Turpa from Bira, because the sultan of Egypt was coming against him. When the king heard this, he returned to his home. In the same year, on the day of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, on Easter Sunday, the son of Lewon, paron of the Armenians, was baptized in the capital of Sis, in the great church of Saint Sophia by the blessed patriarch Kostandin. [The child] was named Kostandin. On the occasion of such joy, the two sons of Smbat, sparapet of the Armenians, Het'um and Vasil, who was nicknamed T'at'ar, were seated on horses and many others with them. And there was great merry-making as a result. In the same year Baybars Bundukdari (Pekpars Ptuxtar), sultan of Egypt, together with his general Sann al-Mawt (Smlmo't') and other grandees, mustered their troops and set out for Cilicia to enslave and destroy. Now the Armenian king, Het'um, held a general levee together with his brothers: Smbat, who was lord of the impregnable fortress of Paper'o'n, Smbataklay, Astar'os, Farxni, Papatul, Sik and Murandin; and O'shin, lord of the lofty stronghold of Kur'iko's, Mitizo'n, Manio'n, Kanch', and other smaller fortresses [g244]. [Het'um, with these lords] and his other grandees and commoners, went to the place called the Gate of Antioch and stayed there, awaiting the infidels. Now the impious sultan together with his troops came as far as the borders of Antioch, to the banks of the Sew [Black] River, and halted there for a few days. He secretly sent his spies who came and observed such a multitude of believers assembled and waiting to see if the sultan would come. The spies returned and informed the sultan about what they had seen. Thus the sultan was afraid to enter the land of Cilicia. Rather he turned and went to Egypt, while the king and all his troops returned to their villages and towns, thanking the Lord. In the same year on the 26th day of December, O'shin, brother of King Het'um and lord of Kur'iko's, passed to Christ in the capital Tarsus. They brought him to the capital Sis and buried him near the tomb of his father.

[117] In the year 715 A.E. [1266] the sultan of Egypt again mustered his troops and came as far as the place where the Crusading Brothers' fortresses were located. He took from them Arsuf, Safad (Safe't) and other strongholds. Then he headed for the country of Cilicia and came as far as Damascus where he halted for a few days. He sent emissaries after ambassadors to King Het'um who came to him to persuade him that there should be peace between them. The sultan wanted peace, however he demanded from the king [the surrender of] fortresses and other places at the borders of his land. The king did not accept these demands for two reasons. First, out of [g245] fear of the Archers [Mongols], so that they would not say that 'King Het'um is under [the domination of] the sultan of Egypt to whom he has given as a reward places and fortresses which we ourselves freed.' The other reason for not acceding to the request—though what was requested was a small thing—was the matter of a ruined place called Shih (Sheh). The sultan had said: "Give that place to me and I will construct a market there for you and me." The king did not give it to him so that he would not fall under his sway. For many years the king had been victorious and renowned, while the sultan had been the slave of another vile slave who subsequently had become so powerful that [people] feared him. On many occasions the king had sent the most respectable men with gifts to the sultan to make peace. But the sultan would not agree, rather he kept demanding the aforementioned places. Then he took his troops and came as far as Aleppo, designating a certain one of his grandees named Samm al-Mawt (Smlmo't) as military chief, and the sultan of Aleppo, Alfi, as second-in-command. Then he sent them to go against the forces of King Het'um in the country of Cilicia, while he himself remained where he was. They came and reached the place called Nikopo'lis, by the base of Black (Seaw) Mountain, and they encamped there. Now it happened that the troops of King Het'um at that time were divided into three parts: one was with the king who had gone at the request of the Nation of Archers to render military assistance; a second was in the place called Dur'n; and the third had gone against the infidels at the place called Mar'i on August 23, a Monday, and encamped there. At daybreak on Tuesday [g246], the infidels reached the place where the camp of the Christians was located, and halted there for a while with [the two armies] facing each other. Then, prompted by the devil, the forces of the believers took to flight, without a fight or a battle. The sons of Lewon, paron of the Armenians, and his brother, T'oros, turned from the [fleeing] troops and went to fight against the infidels. T'oros was slain in that same battle, and Lewon, paron of the Armenians, was captured, as was the son of the sparapet of the Armenians, Smbat, Vasil, nicknamed T'at'ar, and others with them, [including] a certain Chilart and Atom.

[118] They were taken to Sis and were placed in confinement in their temple [mosque] and remained there for some days. [The Muslims] looted the city, then set fire to all the cultivated places, burning everything. There was no counting the number enslaved or killed. Fighting against the citadel, they harassed [the residents] to surrender it, but they refused to do so. When the infidels saw that they were unable to take the fortress, they burned and looted the flank of the mountain and the plain. There were [two areas] with caves where a stronghold had stood since ancient times, one called Kema and the other, Beknk'ar. Many had assembled here with their wives and children. When they saw the unbelievable multitude of infidels coming against them, their strength abandoned them and they were unable to fight. Putting swords to work, the infidels killed so many from that multitude that, it is said, 20,000 people were slain on just that one day. Those who were spared the sword were led into slavery. But [the infidels] did not exit by the same route by which they had entered [Cilicia]. Rather, they went with all their spoil via the gate of Antioch where they sold many of their belongings. Then they went [g247] to their own land and took the captive paron Lewon to the sultan, as a gift brought from afar. When the sultan saw Lewon, paron of the Armenians, and Vasil, nicknamed T'at'ar, he regarded them as more valuable than myriad upon myriad of gold and silver. He took them to Egypt and placed Lewon, paron of the Armenians, and Vasil and those with them into confinement in a very small building in the city of Cairo. He designated guards and attendants for them and constantly honored and exalted them. Now when the Armenian king, Het'um, realized what had happened he fell into a deep depression and grieved, and did not know what to do. After a few days he resolved to find some means of freeing his son, and so he sent some of his attendants to the sultan to find out his intentions, that is, if there was some way of releasing Lewon, paron of the Armenians. The sultan did not want to reveal a solution right off, for the king was constantly sending him the finest of gifts. But after [Het'um] had sent to him many times, [the sultan] revealed his secret desire. He had a dear and valiant comrade who had been under the authority of

the sultan of Aleppo. Now when Hulegu-Khan had come and ruined Aleppo and the survivors had fled, this Baybars—who would later become sultan—and his friend fled along with them [g248]. [Baybars'] horse stopped and would not advance, while his friend had a very fast steed. [The friend] dismounted, mounted Baybars on his own horse and set it on the way. [The friend] remained behind and was seized and taken captive to the East, by the khan's troops. Meanwhile Baybars had continued on to Egypt where he succeeded and became the sultan of Egypt. Now when Lewon, paron of the Armenians, fell into his hands, [Baybars, knowing] that King Het'um was an advisor and friend of Abagha-Khan, thought to find out whether his benevolent comrade (khoshdash) was still alive, and if so, [he wanted Het'um] to produce him. So the sultan said to those who had come to him: "Tell the king that if he can free my comrade from the Nation of Archers and bring him to me, I will release his son, Lewon." As soon as the king heard this, he began to prepare gifts to take East for making this request to Abagha-Khan.

[119] In the year 716 A.E. [1267], King Het'um went East to Abagha-Khan and requested the comrade of Sultan Baybars, whose name was Sunqur al-Ashqar (Snghurashkharh). The khan granted this, if [the captive] could be found. So the king inquired about Sunqur al-Ashqar, but they did not find him. The king sadly returned to his own land. He sent to the sultan saying that he had not found him. Growling, the sultan said: "if you do not bring him to me, I will not free your son."

Now in 717 A.E. [1268] King Het'um consulted with his brothers and again they sent the sparapet's son Lewon, a God-fearing prince, to Abagha-Khan to request Sunqur al-Ashqar a second time. When Lewon reached the khan and made the request again, [he asked] [g249] that they search through the army far and near to find Sunqur al-Ashqar. So ordered the khan and they took [Lewon] along with them in their troops. And they found him. Then they gratefully returned to the country of Cilicia, arriving at the capital of Sis. They sent bearers of glad tidings to the sultan, informing him that they had found the one who had been requested. Then the sultan went on the move with all his troops to the city of Tripoli where he inflicted numerous difficulties on that city. Thence he took his troops on a five day journey, day and night until they unexpectedly came out against the renowned city of Antioch. He took [the city] in four days, on a Saturday, the sixth of May. No one can relate the multitude of the slain there, nor the multitude of captives, nor the treasures which were gathered up and taken to Egypt. However only a few [individuals] of Armenian nationality were killed there, since the sultan released those he found there to go to the country of Cilicia. Similarly the sparapet of Antioch was freed with his flock to come to the country of Cilicia. And some say that it was at his dictate that the city was betrayed into the hand of the sultan. Only God knows the truth of this matter. When the sultan had returned to Antioch to return to Egypt, he sent to King Het'um to send hostages for his son, Lewon, so that he be released, and that when [Het'um] would see his son, he should send [Baybars'] comrade, Sunqur al-Ashqar. The king immediately did so. He sent as a hostage O'shin, his own sister's son, the son of his brother Het'um, Raymond, and the son of Kostandin, the king's father, Vasak, lord of Chanco. When they reached the sultan, Lewon, paron of the Armenians, was freed and came [g250] to the land of Cilicia with many gifts, where the entire Armenian nation came before him in delight. At the same time Prince Lewon, son of Smbat sparapet, took Sunqur al-Ashqar and delivered him to the sultan who rejoiced exceedingly at the sight of him. He gave many gifts to Prince Lewon and the hostages returned with many favors. In the same year King Het'um convened an assembly of leaders and vardapets and renowned men from the East and Cilicia in the capital of Sis. And the king ordered them to elect a worthy [individual] to occupy the patriarchal throne. With many prayers and with the king's request and with [the consent of] the entire assembly, they ordained the worthy vardapet, Yakob, as kat'oghikos of the Armenians [Hakob I Klayets'i, 1268-1286], in the [church of] Saint Sargis, on the 12th of the month of February. At that time Lewon, paron of the Armenians, was still in captivity among the Egyptians, as he was not freed until the month of June.

[120] In the year 718 A.E. [1269] a severe earthquake occurred in the land of Cilicia and many structures in many places were transformed into ruins. This was even more devastating around Black Mountain; and the

impregnable fortress of Sarvandaw became a ruin with its inhabitants dying in the blessed congregation of Ark'akaghin and priests and clerics dying under the collapsed houses. On that stretch of the mountain flank, many buildings and the fortress of Deznk'ar and many other places were completely demolished. In the same [g251] year the paron of the Armenians, Lewon, went East to Abagha-Khan. The latter received him with honors and returned him to his own land of Cilicia with many gifts. In that year Het'um, the son of the sparapet of the Armenians, passed away on the 15th of July and was buried in the blessed congregation of Mlich. And in the same year on the 29th day of September, Vasil, the other son of Smbat sparapet, reposed in Christ in Tarsus. He was buried in the blessed congregation of Mlich. May the Lord have mercy on him. In the same year on Tuesday, the 29th of October, as the sun was setting, Het'um, king of the Armenians, quitted this life and was gathered by his fathers at the foot of Bardzrberd at the village called Akner. They took [his body] to the blessed congregation of Drazark and buried it by the tomb of the blessed patriarch Grigori... [words missing] who died with a goodly confession and had [previously] become a cleric named Makar.

In the year 720 A.E. [1271] on the 6th of January, Lewon, son of King Het'um, was anointed king of the Armenians in the capital of Tarsus in the church of Saint Sophia. All the nations of Christians had gathered there to witness a sight worthy of joy. Many received wealth on that day and many were released from the confinement of prison. After a few days, when the assembly had dissolved, the newly-crowned king went to Isauria to see [g252] that district. Then he joyfully returned to his home. In the same year the sultan of Egypt, Baybars Bundukdari, moved to enter the country of Cilicia. King Lewon sent an embassy to him and he returned to his own land of Egypt, while the king went East to Abagha-Khan. The khan granted 20,000 men for him to take back to his land for its protection. After a few months, the khan himself would arrive. King Lewon took a few of them and returned to his own land. In the same year a certain Frankish king, named Edouard [I, d'Angleterre] came by boat with 2,000 men to Acre (Acca) where he encamped and remained with other kings who were his comrades. In the same year in the month of October, King Lewon became father to a male child in the city of Mamistra and there was joy in all parts of his realm.

[121] In the year 721 A.E. [1272] on the day of the baptism of the lord, which was January 6th, there was great joy in the capital, Sis, and on the same day snow fell generally all over the land of Cilicia right up to the shore of the Ocean Sea. In the same month and year the blessed vardapet Kiwrakos [of Gandzak] died. May the Lord have mercy on him. In the same year, Maria, one of King Het'um's concubines, a Muslim, attracted others of the same faith and they planned among them to kill King Lewon with a fatal poison. They were just waiting for the appropriate moment [g253]. But by the providence of God, the woman's evil work was revealed by an eleven-year-old boy, and the king survived. The king did not deal with them according to what they deserved, but with compassion.

In the same year King Lewon commanded that a fortress be built at the foot of the Taurus Mountains, across from the tomb of the valiant general Andreas, a half day's journey distant from it, to protect that district and its renowned road of Xoz dzor. This was completed in the same year it was begun, and was named Katareats'. In the same year the king's son was baptized in the city of Sis, with the Syrian patriarch Ignatios taking [the baby] out of the font. He was named T'oros, after his father's brother who was slain in battle by the Egyptians. One day in the same year, one of the servants of Edouard, who had come over the sea and was in Acre, came to the king who was sitting alone [dressed] in a thin garment. He removed all the servants [from the king's presence] and approached the king's ear as though to tell him some secret. Then he pulled out a knife and struck the king in the breast. The king recoiled and moved his right hand close to his sword, then drew out the sword and struck...[end of text] [g254]